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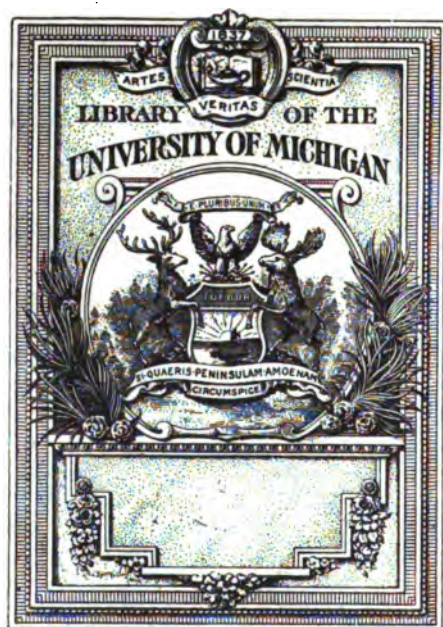
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VOL. II.

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SAINT PAUL AT EPHESUS.

It is impossible for any one to invent a tale whose scene lies in a foreign land without betraying in slight details his ignorance of the scenery and circumstances amid which the event is described as taking place. Unless the writer studiously avoids details, and confines himself to names and generalities, he is certain to commit numerous errors. Even the most laborious and minute study of the circumstances of the country in which he is to lay his scene will not preserve him from such errors. He must live long and observe carefully in the country, if he wishes to invent a tale which will not betray his ignorance in numberless details. Allusions of French or German authors to English life supply the readiest illustration of this principle. Even after all the study that has been expended on classical writers, I will engage to prove it in detail from almost any commentary on a Greek or Roman author, where the commentator ventures beyond mere linguistic exposition of his text.

Even to relate an incident that has actually occurred in a foreign land is no easy task for one who has not actually witnessed it. The one chance of safety for a writer in such a case lies in faithfully reproducing the narrative of an eyewitness. As soon as he ventures to write from an independent point, and to modify the account of his authority, he is certain to import into his version some of those slight inaccuracies that betray the foreigner.

I propose to examine from this point of view some details in the account given by Luke of the riot fomented

in Ephesus against Paul by Demetrius the silversmith. Luke does not profess to be an eyewitness of the scene, but he had abundant opportunity of learning from those who must have been eyewitnesses all the incidents which he relates in Acts xix. with a multitude of minute details and local touches. If the story was invented, only a person intimately familiar with Ephesus could avoid many errors, which would provoke a smile from any native of the city, or any one that was well acquainted with it. The most careful and accurate modern students of the antiquities of that country, even after close observation of the ruins, would be the first to profess their inability to attain local verisimilitude, if they had to invent such a tale. The nearest approach they could make to verisimilitude would be to collect in their narrative the details that they could actually trace from ancient remains and records, and studiously to avoid or slur over all others. But, while it would be impossible for any of us to attain verisimilitude in relating such a story, it is much easier for us to criticise such a story when told by another, and by comparison with other sources of information to detect discrepancies between the details that occur in it and facts that can be otherwise ascertained. Such criticism finds plenty of scope in the tale of Paul and Demetrius. While, on the one hand, it must be confessed that our information has hitherto been too scanty to justify us in asserting the absolute and perfect verisimilitude of the story, yet it is equally certain that no error has yet been proved to exist.

The most serious difficulty hitherto started has been the reference to the Asiarchs; but this touches an exceedingly obscure and difficult subject, and no recent writer has ventured to maintain that the reference betrays ignorance. It certainly is difficult to harmonize the reference with other known facts; but it is equally difficult to harmonize these facts with each other. For my own part, I accept

the reference as entirely accurate and as a valuable piece of evidence, on which I found a theory of the Asiarchate, which I hope, ere very long, to state in detail, and at which I have already hinted¹ so briefly, as to fail to make myself clear.

We look forward to Canon Hicks's forthcoming edition of the Ephesian inscriptions to add greatly to our power of criticising the nineteenth chapter of Acts; and I shall, in the course of these remarks, refer to some other recently discovered evidence bearing on the point. I hope also at some future time to discuss the verisimilitude of all the Asia Minor episodes in that book, and to show at least one remarkable case, in which a detail that for a time seemed to me to betray inaccuracy has quite recently justified itself completely: I refer to the account given of Derbe and Lystra.

It is however remarkable that the firstfruits of Canon Hicks's work should be his own attempt to prove that there occurs in Acts xix. precisely such an error in detail as a writer ignorant of the country is sure to commit in inventing a tale about it. If the proof is conclusive, I should feel constrained to follow; but the proof, at least, demands rigorous examination, and I trust to show that it is not correct. Canon Hicks, indeed, infers only that the writer, Luke, misunderstood the words of an eyewitness; but this inference will satisfy few. If the error exist, it can be far more naturally explained in another way, *viz.* as a piece of bad invention, and those who reason dispassionately about historical documents must allow a presumption in favour of the simplest and most natural explanation. Moreover I shall try to prove that the error, if error it be, is involved in the essence of the story, and must be got by the writer of Acts xix. from the account of the supposed eyewitness that he used as his authority. Finally, I shall

¹ In the *Classical Review*, 1889.

show that it is no error, but a true and accurate detail, that adds to the general verisimilitude of the narrative.

While I am unable to agree with the theory stated by Canon Hicks, I should like to acknowledge the high interest and value of his paper in the last number of *THE EXPOSITOR*. The importance of closely scrutinising the details of such a document is great, and the results, whether we actually agree with them or not, are sure to be highly suggestive. I could quote many cases where a book or paper, whose results could not be accepted, was far more valuable and suggestive than any statement of certain and indisputable facts could be. Canon Hicks's paper is one of these cases: its value in method is quite unconnected with its value in results.

I should be very ready to acknowledge that, with regard to the identification of Demetrius, Canon Hicks has made out at least the probability of his case. It would be, of course, almost as difficult to prove an identity between two persons named John Smith in our own country as between two persons named Demetrius in Greece or the west coast of Asia Minor. But he may be taken to be right in dating his inscription about 50-60 A.D., and the state of the case may then be thus stated. Two independent documents mention a Demetrius in Ephesus about 50-60 A.D. In each case the Demetrius is a man of standing in the city, influential and presumably wealthy. In the one case Demetrius is specified as "a silversmith," and as evidently a leader in the trade; in the other case the Demetrius in question is designated in the ordinary way by his father's and grandfather's name, and by his "thousand." Such was the regular legal designation of a citizen—the addition of the father's name being practically universal, while the grandfather was less commonly mentioned, chiefly in the case of the commoner names. In addition to this, the official position of the second Demetrius, as member and

chairman of a board of city magistrates, is recorded. The variety of style in the references is quite natural, and the fact that nothing in the one case agrees with anything recorded in the other is due to the different character of the documents, and affords no presumption that the two persons are different. The identity of the two is therefore quite possible ; and a natural inclination leads us to hope that it may even be called probable.

While in deference to Canon Hicks's high authority and experience, I am quite ready to accept his date for the inscription, I should state that *à priori* I should have been inclined to refer to a later period both this inscription and the one afterwards inscribed on the same stone. The latter is placed by Canon Hicks in "the age of the Antonines," *i.e.* 140–190 A.D. I should certainly have been inclined to refer this text (see p. 405) to the revival of paganism which I believe to have taken place about 200 A.D., and the earlier inscription of Demetrius to about 100 A.D. The form *νεοποιός*, with *o* for *ω*, seems rather to belong to a period later than Nero, though it was certainly the common form at least as early as 104 A.D. But Canon Hicks has no doubt taken all this into consideration before forming an opinion, and I am quite ready to follow him provisionally.¹

¹ Mr. C. Smith has now shown me the Ephesian stones, and I am unwilling to put the Demetrius inscription earlier than 70–80 A.D. It has *o* for *ω* twice, and a late form of *Xi*, and is in some respects of later character than the Salutaris inscription (104); but this is perhaps due to the fact that the *νεοποιοι* (who were people of not the highest class) employed an inferior engraver. The *νεοποια* was a *munus*, not a *honor*. Canon Hicks's impression seems really to agree with my view: he assigns the period as "the latter half of the first century" (p. 405), whereas in stating dates roughly by periods 57 A.D. is usually called "the middle of the century." He also seems to feel that the use of *o* for *ω* is hardly consistent with 57 A.D.; for in his formal publication (of which Mr. Smith showed me the proof) he restores *νεωρ.*, whereas on p. 418 he uses *νεορ.* From his article I did not gather that of this critical word only the first letter remains on the stone, and the rest is his ingenious restoration. I quite admit that his restoration is highly probable, but it is not certain; and it therefore forms only a weak support for the accusation that Luke made such a serious error.

Canon Hicks's next point is, that the inscription belongs to the very year in which occurred the famous scene in the theatre, and that "the honour therein voted to him and his colleagues was in recognition of the services rendered by him and them on behalf of the national goddess"; *i.e.*, as is shown in the sequel, in recognition of the demonstration against the Apostle which Demetrius (and his colleagues, as Canon Hicks would add) organized in the Great Theatre.

There can be no doubt that, if this be so, we must gain from the discovery, as Canon Hicks recognises, much new light on the events related in Acts xix. Does this new light confirm or controvert the record? According to his interpretation, it puts an entirely new aspect on the whole scene, and an aspect which is absolutely at variance with the character ascribed to it in Acts xix. It is represented to us in Acts as a spontaneous demonstration by a trade which was threatened against the new influence that was likely to undermine its prosperity. Canon Hicks makes it out as due to the action of the priests,¹ whose "jealousy only waited for an opportunity of attacking the apostle." "The plan they adopted" was to get the board of *neopoioi* "to organize a demonstration against the apostle." Demetrius called together the silversmiths and "those engaged in kindred trades. He appeals first to their trade interests, and soon proceeds to work upon their fanaticism."

The narrative in Acts xix. in its opening words states the connexion between the silversmiths and Artemis: Demetrius "made silver shrines of Diana," and his trade would therefore disappear if her worship decayed. Canon Hicks however argues that this phrase is inexplicable and unintelligible, and that it is a bad inference from the words of an earlier narrator and eyewitness, who had described Demetrius as a silversmith by trade, and as holding the

¹ In order to represent Canon Hicks quite accurately, I shall try to preserve his own words as far as possible.

office of *Neopoios* of Artemis. The title was misunderstood by Luke, who, in recasting his authority, altered *νεοποιὸς Ἀρτέμιδος* into *ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος*. Let us then substitute this new version for the old. The first thing that then strikes us is, that in this version the narrative gives no explanation of how the trade interests were threatened. Demetrius says to the silversmiths, "By this business we have our wealth": he then tells them that the worship of Diana is threatened, and the inference is, that their trade is in danger. This speech has no meaning unless Demetrius is addressing tradesmen who work for the temple; and no person could relate the story intelligibly without putting in the forefront an explanation of the close relation between the trade and the worship of Artemis. Silversmiths were common in all Greek cities; the silver work of Athens was famous and lucrative, yet it had no relation to the worship of Artemis. There must have been some reason why the silversmiths of Ephesus were peculiarly connected with the temple, and this reason must have been stated at the outset of the tale, for it is assumed throughout as the explanation of the whole proceedings.

We must then suppose that the original authority began his tale with a statement showing the connexion between the trade, as whose champion Demetrius comes forward, and the religion with which Demetrius assumes that the interests of that trade are identified. This connexion must either be the same as that which Luke assigns or a different one. Canon Hicks evidently considers that it was a different one, both because he states that Luke "misapprehended the document before him," and because he considers that Demetrius drove "a brisk trade in metal statuettes" of the goddess Artemis. This then was the connexion stated in Luke's authority. We have to suppose that Luke, not merely misapprehended the meaning of *Neopoios*, but also omitted the explanation given of the

connexion of the trade with Artemis-worship, and substituted a quite different explanation.

That Luke should not understand the meaning of *Neopoios* is hardly probable; but that he should so arbitrarily and violently alter the account of the eyewitness whom he follows is in the highest degree improbable.

Another objection occurs to me, which, in view of Canon Hicks's high authority in the antiquities of Ephesus, I hardly venture to state. I have never seen the phrase *νεοποιὸς Ἀρτέμιδος*, which he assumes to have been used in Saint Luke's authority. The officials in question are, in all the inscriptions which I remember to have seen, called *νεοποιοί* simply. I may assume that Canon Hicks would not have used the other title unless he could justify it from the inscriptions of Ephesus, which will soon be fully accessible in his book; but I wish he had quoted an example. *Neopoioi* of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias¹ do not, in view of the diversity of usage in different cities, seem to me a sufficient justification for a *neopoios* of Artemis at Ephesus. But considering Canon Hicks's accuracy and the knowledge of Ephesus which he alone (till his book appears) possesses, I simply appeal to him for information on this point. I maintain however that, if he cannot justify the phrase by the authority of inscriptions, in which these officials occur very frequently, the use of a wrong title would constitute precisely one of those errors in detail, which might be used as a proof that his supposed eyewitness was no eyewitness, but an inventor.

Is the phrase, "which made silver shrines of Diana," so inexplicable as Canon Hicks supposes? He says that none of the commentators have explained it; and certainly all the references which he quotes from them justify his statement that they have failed to explain it. I confess that the explanation has always seemed to me so obvious that

¹ *Corpus Inscr. Græc.*, No. 2811. Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 6.

I never thought of looking into a commentator. I have been familiar for years with terra-cotta shrines of Artemis, and had always understood that the richer classes bought silver shrines of a similar character. I claim no originality for the suggestion, which I have always understood to be accepted among archæologists. I think I have read it as stated by Professor Ernst Curtius in publishing an example of the kind; and I think he actually quoted the allusion in Acts xix. in illustration of the example which he was publishing. I speak however from distant recollection, and as I write in Scotland, where no scholars' library exists, I cannot verify the statement.¹

Such small shrines in marble abound, and they were especially used as dedicatory offerings in the worship of that Asiatic goddess who was worshipped as Artemis at Ephesus, and under other names, but with essential identity of character, in many other cities of Greek or semi-Greek character. Scores of examples are enumerated in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1880, and the number might easily be raised to hundreds. Terra-cotta shrines are not so numerous, partly on account of their more perishable character, and partly from the fact that in many cases part of the shrine was suppressed and left to the imagination, as was sometimes the case even in marble; so that the shrines thus become little more than statuettes of Artemis.

But the proper dedicatory offering to this goddess was not a simple statuette, but a shrine. I have elsewhere traced the history of this style of representation from the remotest period to the latest age of the worship of Artemis. The innumerable worshippers of the goddess required innumerable dedicatory offerings of the style which was most likely to please her. A great city erected a great shrine

¹ Mr. C. Smith, when I mentioned the point to him, soon found the reference; viz. *Athenische Mittheilungen*, ii., p. 49. The illustration there will convince every one: it shows exactly the kind of *naos* which Demetrius made, except that the material is terra-cotta.

with a colossal statue of the goddess; private individuals propitiated her with miniature shrines, containing embodiments of her living presence. The vast temple near Ephesus and the tiny terra-cotta shrine were equally acceptable to Artemis: she accepted from her votaries offerings according to their means. She dwelt neither in the vast temple nor in the tiny terra-cotta: she was implicit in the life of nature; she was the reproductive power that kept the great world ever the same amid the constant flux of things. Mother of all and nurse of all, she was most really present wherever the unrestrained life of nature was most freely manifested, in the woods, on the mountains, among the wild beasts. Her worshippers expressed their devotion and their belief in her omnipresence by offering shrines to her, and doubtless by keeping shrines of the same kind in their own homes, certainly also by placing such shrines in graves beside the corpse, as a sign that the dead had once more gone back to the mother who bore them.

The phrase in Acts xix. informs us that the term *naoi*, literally "dwellings,"¹ was appropriated to the tiny shrines equally with the great temple; the phrase is almost unique, for we are reduced to gather all our information about this religion from scattered hints and passing allusions. Ancient literature as a rule says least about those phases of ancient life which were so fundamental and so familiar to all as to be naturally assumed as present in the minds of all readers. Precisely in regard to these phases archæology comes to our aid, and interprets the wealth of meaning that underlies the terms in which literature names them.² But I hope to have shown how entirely consistent the phrase in the

¹ Strictly *naoi* denotes that part of the temple in which the image of the god was placed, and the whole temple as the dwelling of the god.

² According to Professor Mommsen's interpretation of a passage of Horace, it contains the only allusion to, and the only occurrence of the name for, the stepping-stones across streets, which are one of the first details that strike the modern visitor to Pompeii: the name is *pondera*.

Acts is with all that we know about the worship and nature of Artemis: it is one of those vivid touches which reveal the eyewitness, one of the incidental expressions which only a person who speaks with familiar knowledge can use, and which are full of instruction about popular ideas and popular language.

When we consider the immense and widespread influence of the Ephesian Artemis, we must acknowledge that vast numbers of pilgrims coming even from considerable distances continually visited her shrine, and that vast numbers of "*naoi*" (I accept the word on the authority of Acts xix. as the technical term used in the trade and by the pilgrims) were needed to supply the unceasing demand. Workers in marble and workers in terra-cotta drove a thriving trade through their connexion with the temple, and this connexion was directed and organized by Demetrius, evidently as guild-master¹ (*παρείχετο τοῖς τεχνίταις ἐργασίαν οὐκ ὀλίγην*). Luke sums up these tradesmen under the phrase, "the workmen of like occupation" (*τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας*). We can however well imagine that rich pilgrims dedicated shrines of precious metals; and, even without any other evidence, the mere statement in Acts xix. is so natural and so consistent with the facts just stated, as to constitute sufficient proof that this was so. The silversmiths were of course a craft of higher standing, greater skill in delicate work, larger profits, and therefore greater wealth and influence, than the potters and marble-workers. How natural then it is that it should be a silversmith who gathered together a meeting of the associated trades and organized a disturbance! The less educated workmen follow the lead of the great artisan.

¹ Canon Hicks has some excellent remarks on these guilds in the cities of Asia Minor. The institution still flourishes; and each guild is directed by a master. I have briefly described the guild of street-porters in Smyrna under the Roman empire in the *Amer. Journ. Arch.*, vol. i. A study of these ancient guilds is much needed.

On this view every detail confirms the general effect. We are taken direct into the heart of artisan life in Ephesus; and all is so characteristic, so true to common life, and so unlike what would occur to any person writing at a distance, that the conclusion is inevitable. We have here a picture drawn from nature, and copied literally by Luke from the narrative of an eyewitness.

On the other hand, look at the picture drawn by Canon Hicks. The riot is got up by the priests through the agency of a leading official and his board of colleagues. That is precisely the idea that would occur to any person inventing such an incident. Paul goes to Ephesus; he preaches at first with effect; the priests are alarmed, and raise a dangerous riot against him. Such is the picture that every inventor of the biography of a saint¹ is sure to draw. The priests at once occur to his mind as the natural enemies of his hero. There is nothing characteristic and individual about such an account; all is commonplace, and coloured by the religious ideas of a later time.

The first way in which Christianity excited the popular enmity outside of the Jewish community was as a disturber of the existing state of society and trade. The rise of a new god and a new worship was a matter of perfect indifference to almost everybody in the cities of the Roman provinces. In the Græco-Roman world every one was quite accustomed to the introduction of new deities from other countries. The process had been going on with extraordinary frequency, and had produced a sort of eclectic religion in all Græco-Roman cities. The priests of Artemis looked on it with indifference. They had not found it injurious to their interests; rather, the growth of each new

¹ While I have recently in *THE EXPOSITOR* rehabilitated some of the saints of Asia Minor, it must be remembered that the biographies of the saints of this country are destitute of all historical value, and are inventions of later centuries. Only the discovery of early evidence can enable us to learn anything definite about their real history.

superstition added to the influence of Artemis and her priests. Isis was no enemy to Artemis.

The narrative of the New Testament has led to a general misapprehension on this point. We are so accustomed to the strong religious feeling of the Jews and the intolerant fanaticism with which they persecuted all dissentient opinion, that we are apt to forget that this feeling was peculiar to them, and excited beyond any other of their characteristics the wonder of the tolerant, easy-going indifference of the ordinary pagans, who did not care two straws whether their neighbour worshipped twenty gods or twenty-one. A new deity preached in Ephesus, a new inmate of their eclectic pantheon: it was all a matter of indifference.

Gradually people began to realize that Christianity meant a social revolution, that it did not mean to take its place alongside of the other religions, but to destroy them. The discovery was made in a homely way, familiar to us all; *viz.* through the pocket. Certain trades began, with all the sensitiveness of the money-market, to find themselves affected. The gradual progress of opposition to Christianity is well marked in the Acts, and is precisely in accordance with the above exposition. When Paul began to preach in Asia Minor, he at first experienced no opposition except from the Jews. In Antioch of Pisidia, in Iconium, in Lystra, in Thessalonica, his experience was always the same. The Gentiles were indifferent or even friendly, the Jews bitterly hostile. But in Philippi occurred the incident of the "maid having a spirit of divination"; and "when her masters saw that the hope of their gain was gone," they accused Paul as a Jew before the magistrates of inciting to illegal conduct and violation of the Roman law, and turned to their account the general dislike felt by the Greeks towards the Jews.

Similarly in Ephesus the first opposition against Paul

was roused when the trades connected with Artemis-worship felt their pockets touched, and then the riot arose. It was not a religious persecution, but a social and a mercenary one. So far am I from thinking with Canon Hicks that "the hierarchy would be sensible of the apostle's influence before any others suspected it," that I should not be surprised to find priests or leading supporters of the worship of Artemis among the Asiarchs who were "the only influential friends of Paul at Ephesus." I should rather expect that the action of the priests of Artemis would be similar to that of the priests at Lystra: they would encourage the "revival," and try to turn it to their own account, as in so many cases previously such "revivals" of religious feeling had ultimately only enriched Artemis and her priesthood.

Another contradiction between the account given in Acts xix. and Canon Hicks's theory must be noticed. According to the latter, the officials who organized the riot were rewarded for this action with a special vote of distinction by the senate and the popular assembly. But, according to the account given by Luke, it was a thoroughly disorderly riot, discouraged by the Asiarchs, and rebuked by the city clerk as a groundless disturbance which involved the magistrates and the city in danger at the instance of the Roman law (see ver. 40). This contradiction alone would be fatal to the theory against which I am arguing; or rather, if the theory be true, it convicts the author of Acts xix. as guilty of a most inaccurate and prejudiced account, and as an altogether useless authority for history.

I prefer then to follow the version of the incident given by Luke. Far from finding that "the action of Demetrius appears in a new and far more significant light if he really was the Demetrius of the inscription, and if the honour therein voted to him and his colleagues by the senate and people of Ephesus was in recognition of the services

rendered by him and them on behalf of the national goddess," I think that this theory both involves us in utter contradiction to Luke's account, and reduces the incident from a marvellously vivid and true picture of society in Ephesus to a commonplace and uninstructional tale.

If I were to trust my own inference from Luke, I should picture the riot as entirely that of an ignorant mob, fomented by an artisan more far-seeing than his neighbours. It was a riot disapproved of alike by priests and by magistrates: the former saw nothing in Paul to characterize him as dangerous to the goddess (see ver. 37); the latter felt that the riot was contrary to the Roman law. The distinction which Canon Hicks makes between the attitude of the Asiarchs and that of the priests of Artemis towards Paul is entirely groundless, and forms an unfortunate conclusion to a paragraph, great part of which is excellently¹ expressed and thoroughly true. The cultus of the emperors did indeed prepare the way for the Christian Church; but its doing so was entirely involuntary. It co-ordinated the various religions of the province into something approximating to a single hierarchy. But to maintain that the officials of "the imperial cultus naturally represented a different point of view from the priests of Artemis is to go against all evidence. These officials were simply provincials, selected chiefly on account of their wealth and sometimes against their will: they did not represent even the imperial point² of view, or that of the Roman governors, but the average view of the upper classes of the province.

¹ In it Canon Hicks confirms all that I have said in *THE EXPOSITOR*, Dec., 1888, about the relation of the imperial worship to Christianity. It was the religion of the Cæsars, not the religion of Jupiter and Artemis, that first felt the new religion to be its enemy.

² I do not believe that Canon Hicks is right even in thinking that the Roman governors were so contemptuous of the native religion, and that "their attitude towards the local cults was much the same as that of the English Government towards the polytheism of India." Such a statement is exaggerated beyond Canon Hicks's usual sober and accurate tone.

Many of them had held provincial priesthoods before they became officials of the imperial cultus; in fact, my belief is that the former were a sort of stepping-stone to the latter. The attitude of the Asiarchs towards Paul may then be taken as a fair indication of the tone of the educated classes, among whom I include the higher priests. The attitude of Demetrius and the mob was that of tradesmen whose trade was threatened, and who got up a demonstration on its behalf.

I need not do more than refer to another example of the way in which trades connected with pagan worship were affected by the progress of Christianity. At the beginning of the second century in Bithynia the dealers in fodder for the temple victims were in danger of being ruined on account of the intermission of the regular sacrificial ritual. Owing to the sharp measures instituted by Pliny, who governed the province 111-113 A.D., the trade revived. The apparent reason for Pliny's pointed reference to this trade is, that the persons concerned in it had been prominent in urging forward the action against the Christians and active in denouncing them (*Epist. ad Traj.*, 96).

One objection made by Canon Hicks must be met. "If these silver shrines were common articles of merchandise, such as pilgrims to the famous temple purchased to take back to their homes, then we might fairly expect to find some specimens still extant among the treasures of our museums." In the first place, I imagine that the chief use made of these shrines was to dedicate in the temple. They were sold by the priests to the worshippers, and dedicated by the latter to the goddess: similar examples of trade carried on by priests are too familiar to need quotation. Why then have these silver shrines all disappeared? Simply on account of their value. They have all gone into the melting-pot; many of them being placed there by the priests themselves. Dedicatory offerings were so

numerous, that they had to be cleared out from time to time to make room for new *anathemata*. The terra-cotta shrines, being worthless, would be thrown away quietly, the silver would be melted down. Those which remained to a later period met the same fate at other hands, less pious, but equally greedy. Canon Hicks indeed speaks apparently of silver statuettes of Artemis as common. The expression however is only a careless and probably unintentional one; for they are so rare as to be almost unknown to me.¹

After Demetrius's speech the excited mob began to shout "Great is Artemis!" and at a later stage they spent about two hours in clamour to the same effect. The phrase is noteworthy. In such circumstances there can be no doubt that some familiar formula would rise to their lips; it would not be mere chance words that suggested themselves to a whole crowd, but words which were well-known to all. We are therefore justified in inferring from this passage that the phrase, "Great is Artemis!" was a stock expression in the religion, just as we might argue from a single loyal demonstration that "Long live the Queen!" was a stock phrase in our own country, or *Χριστιανῶν Βασιλέων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη* a current phrase in Constantinople under the Byzantine emperors. Conversely, if we can prove that "Great is Artemis!" was a stock phrase of Artemis-worship, we shall add one more to the list of vivid, natural, and individualized traits in this scene.

We have very scanty information about the ritual of the goddess, who was worshipped under various names in Ephesus and many other parts of Lydia, Phrygia, etc.; and among our scanty records this phrase did not occur till a very recent discovery. The word "great" or "greatest"

¹ Mr. C. Smith informs me that there is only a single silver statuette of the Greek Artemis (a doubtful attribution), and none of the Ephesian Artemis, in the British Museum.

indeed occurs as an epithet of the goddess in a number of inscriptions; but that is not a sufficient proof. We want an instance of the words being employed by themselves as a cry or formula in honour of the goddess. In trying to find such an instance the great difficulty hitherto has been that the formulas of the common people were different from those of the educated: the former were native to the country, the latter were copied from Greece. All educated people in Asia Minor gave up their national characteristics and made themselves as Greek as possible.

In 1887 Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Brown, and myself found the site of a temple dedicated to a goddess and her son, Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lavibenos, at the Phrygian city of Dionysopolis. Beside it we found numerous inscriptions of a remarkable type. They were all erected within the sacred precinct by persons bound to the service of the two deities. They agree in representing the authors as having come before the god when polluted with some physical or moral impurity (sometimes of a very gross kind), and when therefore unfit to appear before the god. The offenders are chastised by the god (in some cases at least, perhaps in all cases, with disease); they confess and acknowledge their fault, and thereby appease the god. They are cured of their ailment, or released from their punishment, and finally they relate the facts in an inscription as a pattern and a warning to others not to treat the god lightly.

In publishing these inscriptions,¹ I have drawn out a number of analogies between the formulæ used in them and those hieratic formulæ which we can trace at Ephesus; and have argued that the religion of Ephesus and of Dionysopolis was fundamentally the same. Among the formulæ common to the two cults is the cry, "Great is Apollo!" "Great is Artemis!" The former occurs as a heading of an inscription at Dionysopolis, and forms a full

¹ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1889, p. 216, ff.

and sufficient proof that Luke is strictly correct in giving the latter as a cry in a popular demonstration in honour of Artemis at Ephesus.

The more closely we are able to test the story in Acts xix., the more vivid and true to nature does it prove itself, and the more justified are we in pressing closely every inference, from the little details that occur in it. I entertain the strong hope that the demonstration which has now been given of its accuracy in disputed points will do away with all future doubt as to the faithfulness of the picture that it gives of Ephesian society in A.D. 57. Even though we cannot agree with Canon Hicks's¹ conclusions, our best thanks are due to him for directing our close and minute attention to this most important historical scene, and to the inscription he has so ingeniously pieced together.

The finest part of Canon Hicks's paper is his proof that the revival of paganism in Ephesus was at least as early as 160 A.D., and probably as early as 104 A.D. One of the most interesting facts in the history of religion under the empire is the influence that was exerted by the new religion on the old; and the progress of discovery is gathering a store of information on this point, which will make a remarkable picture. In the first century we observe a general tone of indifference and careless ease in the higher classes, the municipal magistrates, and even the priesthood. Afterwards this security is disturbed. New zeal and earnestness are imparted to paganism; its ceremonial is more carefully studied; and even certain doctrines are adopted from Christianity, and declared to have been always present in the old worship. Canon Hicks enables us to

¹ One other slight point in his paper I should wish to see altered; *viz.* his rendering of *ἐσαρκεύσας ἀγνῶς* as "serving as an *essén* with integrity." *Ἀγνῶς* is a technical term in the religion of Artemis, and denotes the state of purity that results from the due observance of all the prescribed ritual with its physical and moral requirements. In my paper on the Dionysopolitan texts I have shown in some detail the ritualistic importance of this term.

carry back this revival even to 104 A.D. ; and we observe that Pliny in 112 A.D. called on the Bithynian Christians to sacrifice to the emperor and the pagan gods : these different forms of religion were henceforth allied against the new faith.

I should like to add one more illustration of the Acts, to which I have referred at the beginning of this paper. We may infer from Acts xiv., xvi., that Lystra was west of Derbe and nearer Iconium than Derbe was. The route of Paul and Barnabas was Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium ; and that of Paul and Silas was Cilicia, Derbe, Lystra, Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia. The parts about Lystra and Derbe are distinguished from Iconium in such a way as to imply that Lystra was not very far from Derbe ; the words would have no meaning if Lystra were near Iconium and far from Derbe. Many years ago I argued that either these inferences drawn from Acts were true, or else the account, in Acts xiv., xvi. could not be the work of a person that had seen the country.

At one time I was disposed to think that Lystra and Derbe were situated at the extreme south-eastern corner of Lycaonia, not far from each other, and a great distance from Iconium. This situation appeared to be in accordance with the scanty evidence and to suit the Acts. But in 1885 my friend Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett,¹ discovered Lystra, where Leake long ago conjectured it, about eighteen or twenty miles south of Iconium. The evidence now appeared to show that Lystra and Iconium were a pair of cities, and that Derbe was at a great distance from them. I found myself forced to the opinion (and several times stated it in conversation) that the evidence of topography was dead

¹ I may be allowed to mention also with pride that Prof. Sterrett was my pupil in Anatolian exploration, and though he has many years ago passed out of that stage of pupillage, and become one of the most successful of explorers, yet in 1883 I took him with me a novice in the work.

against the accuracy of the account in Acts. Prof. Sterrett, on the other hand, argued from the Acts that Derbe must be close to Lystra, and placed it accordingly a few miles to the east. This opinion seemed to me to contradict the rest of the evidence, and especially that of the geographer Strabo, about Derbe. Accordingly in my forthcoming *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, I began to write out a detailed disproof of the situation assigned by Prof. Sterrett, arguing, on the principle which I have throughout applied, that no city should be placed on the evidence of any single reference unless it were confirmed by the other references. In the case of Derbe I showed that we must follow the majority of references, and especially that of a professed geographer, even though it disagreed with the Acts; and I then added a close examination of Strabo's words, proving that he pictured Derbe as in the east of Lycaonia. In the very act of writing out this final part of the proof, I found myself led into a minute study of the eastern Lycaonian frontier, the result of which was that I was literally forced by my own argument from Strabo to place Derbe where Prof. Sterrett had placed it on the evidence of the Acts.

If Bishop Lightfoot (whose irreparable loss all students of the state of society during the conflict between Christianity and paganism deplore) ended his paper on "the Acts illustrated by Recent Discoveries" with an illustration of the saint whom he has made peculiarly his own, Ignatius, I need not apologise for adding another at the conclusion of this paper.

The word *ἑμπελάριον*, used by Ignatius three times (*Eph.* 2, *Trall.* 3, *Smyrn.* 12), has been alleged as an argument against the genuineness of the *Letters* ascribed to him. Bishop Lightfoot maintains (*I.*, p. 396) that it is not an unnatural or improbable term for him to use: his reasons are general and *à priori*, no others being possible, and the

objection being of the same character. But in the Dionysopolitan inscriptions to which I have alluded the word occurs several times; and we have thus a proof that this Latin legal term had passed into the current conversational language of the almost wholly uneducated peasants who wrote the inscriptions. Some of these inscriptions belong to the second century, and may be taken as affording a presumption that the word was naturalized among the Greek-speaking orientals even as early as Ignatius. I think that this fact was communicated to the bishop in time for his second edition; it formed the subject of some of the latest letters that passed between us.

It is impossible to conclude this paper without mentioning the great importance of carrying out such a minute and careful study of the references in Acts to Asia Minor as Canon Hicks has initiated in *THE EXPOSITOR*. Such a study is only now becoming possible, owing to the progress of discovery; and every new exploration adds to the stock of material which can be applied to the criticism and elucidation of our literary material.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ON THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN TO JEWISH WORSHIP.

THE recent publication of the Abbé Duchesne's valuable work entitled *Les Origines du Culte Chrétien* can hardly help directing attention afresh to the interesting question of the connexion between Jewish and Christian worship. Much has been already written on the subject, but nevertheless it can hardly be said that the exact relation between the two has been conclusively determined. Considerable light has been thrown on it by the writings of Bickell and others; but the information contained in

their works does not seem to have filtered through into the various handbooks on the English Prayer-Book, which are now so numerous; and there is still room for a careful treatise on the subject, written, not only with adequate knowledge, but also with careful discrimination between what is certain and what is merely conjectural.¹ The fault that has hitherto marred so many investigations of the question is, that they have been undertaken in order to establish a preconceived theory, and that a misplaced ingenuity has been suffered to usurp the place of serious argument and solid proof. In the present article the writer will not make any ambitious attempt to supply the want, or to cover the whole field. It is not proposed even to enter on the Temple worship, or on the very interesting question, raised by Bickell, of the connexion of the eucharist with the passover. A much more limited subject for inquiry is all that can here be touched upon; viz. To what extent has the service of the *synagogue* affected Christian worship? If any certain conclusion can be arrived at on this point, then the ground will be cleared for further investigations, and attention may afterwards be concentrated on the remaining points to which allusion has been made. Ever since the publication of the late Archdeacon Freeman's learned work on *Principles of Divine Service*, it has been generally accepted that it is in the office for the canonical Hours that traces of the synagogue worship of the Jews must be sought. A supposed parallel drawn between the "Eighteen Prayers" of the synagogue and the introductory part of the Greek offices is thought to establish a connexion between the two, a connexion that is admitted by the late Mr. Hotham in his article on psalmody in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*

¹ Of Mr. Baring Gould's volume entitled *Our Inheritance*, which I have only recently seen, I will say no more, than that it does not supply the want alluded to in the text.

as well as by Mr. Burbidge in his useful work on the *Liturgies and Offices of the Church*. Speaking of the common prayers (as distinct from the liturgy) of the early Church, the last-mentioned writer says: "The resemblance of these services to the synagogue worship can be clearly traced, as might be expected when it is remembered that for many years the Church consisted principally of Jews." And again: "Praise, hearing, and prayer formed the main divisions of the common prayers of the Christians, as they had done in the synagogue services of the Jews."¹

The parallel drawn by the archdeacon between the Eighteen Prayers and the opening of the Greek offices is ingenious, but it is scarcely satisfying; and, apart from the doubt which hangs over the antiquity of the Eighteen Prayers, the theory founded on the supposed resemblance breaks down utterly when once it is realized that the Hour services of the Christian Church were essentially offices of praise, consisting mainly of psalms, and originally containing no lessons; while the synagogue service of the Jews was essentially didactic, and originally contained no psalms whatever.

It is to be regretted that too often the mistake has been made of comparing the synagogue service of post-Talmudic times with that of the Christian Church, and that little attention has been paid to the original authorities of an earlier age, which enable us to get behind the Talmud, and trace out the main features of the synagogue service at the time of the rise of the Christian Church. The earliest notices that have come down to us are those in the New Testament and in the writings of Philo. There is the closest possible agreement between both these authorities in regard to the character of the service which they describe. It was scarcely *worship* in any true sense of the word. The main features of it were (1) the reading

¹ *The Liturgies and Offices of the Church*, pp. 13, 14.

of the Scripture; and (2) the exposition or sermon. In almost every instance in which it is mentioned in the gospels that our Lord entered into the synagogue, it is added that He *taught* there.¹ On one occasion there is a somewhat fuller notice: "He came to Nazareth, where He had been brought up: and He entered, as His custom was, into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto Him the book of the prophet Isaiah. . . . And He closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down: and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened on Him. And He began to say unto them, To-day hath this Scripture been fulfilled in your ears."² Here we have, first, the reading of the Scriptures; secondly, the sermon. Precisely the same thing meets us in the Acts of the Apostles. St. Paul and St. Barnabas "went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and sat down. And after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation (*λόγος παρακλήσεως*) for the people, say on. And Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand said," etc.³ The reading of the prophets "every Sabbath" is referred to later on in the same chapter;⁴ while in chapter xv. St. James speaks of the law as being "read in the synagogues every Sabbath."⁵ But in no single instance is there the slightest allusion to *psalmody* or even to *prayer* as forming part of the synagogue service; for the notice in St. Matthew vi. 5 clearly refers to *private* prayers said in a public place, and not to the united devotions of the congregation. Quite in harmony with the notices in the New Testament are those in the writings of Philo. Three brief accounts are given in various parts of his works, and in none of these

¹ See St. Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, xiii. 54; St. Mark i. 21, vi. 2; St. Luke iv. 15, 31, vi. 6, xiii. 10; St. John vi. 59.

² St. Luke iv. 16-21. ³ Acts xiii. 14-16. ⁴ Ver. 27. ⁵ Acts xv. 21.

is there mention of anything but the reading of Scripture, and the sermon or exposition. The fullest description is that found in a fragment preserved by Eusebius in the *Præparatio Evangelica*. It runs as follows :

"What then did the lawgiver appoint for these seventh days? He decreed that men should assemble, and sitting together in a decent and orderly way, should listen to the laws, that none might be ignorant of them. And indeed they always do assemble and sit together with each other; . . . and one of the priests or elders present reads the sacred laws to them and expounds them severally until it is late and evening draws on."¹

The second passage in the treatise *De Septenario* simply speaks of the instruction in "prudence, temperance, fortitude, justice, and the other virtues" which is given every Sabbath;² while the third passage, which refers especially to the Essenes, says that one takes the books and reads them, and another of the most learned expounds.³

Coming down to a later period, we find that a passage in the Talmudic tract *Megillah* enumerates the various parts of synagogue worship as follows: the recitation of the *Shema*, prayer, the reading of the law, the reading of the prophets, and the blessing of the priests.⁴ The recitation of the *Shema*, with which the service commenced, was of the nature of a creed rather than a prayer. Schürer thinks that it "undoubtedly belongs to the time of Christ";⁵ but, with one possible exception,⁶ there is no allusion to its use in the New Testament. Of the *Shemoneh Esreh* (the Eighteen Prayers) Schürer says that "it must have virtually attained its present form about A.D. 70-100, and

¹ Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, VIII., vii.

² *De Septenario*, c. vi.

³ "Quod omnis probus liber," c. xii. Cf. Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, VIII., xii.; and cf. Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, vol. ii., p. 76, where the passages are quoted in full.

⁴ *Megillah*, iv. 3.

⁵ Schürer, ii., p. 77. The *Shema* consists of Dent. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21, Num. xv. 37-41. Its recitation is referred to by Josephus, *Ant.* IV., viii. 13. See Schürer, p. 85.

⁶ St. Jas. ii. 19.

its groundwork may safely be regarded as considerably more ancient.”¹ It is then quite possible that to the Scripture reading and the sermon some few prayers were added, even in the earliest days. But if so they must have occupied an entirely subordinate position; and there is, I believe, no notice of psalmody as forming any part of the synagogue service until post-Talmudic times.² Anyhow the notices in Philo and the New Testament are conclusive that *instruction* rather than prayer or praise was the main object for which the Jews met together in their synagogues.

It should be added, that these meetings were not held daily, but only on the Sabbath (on which the principal service was in the morning) and on Monday and Thursday; whereas of course the Hour Services of the Christian Church are essentially *daily* offices. And thus a further argument arises against the theory which would trace their origin back to the worship of the Jewish Church. The truth is, that the Hour Services differ in every possible way from the original synagogue service; and it is hopeless to attempt to establish the slightest connexion between the two.

¹ Schürer, p. 88.

² Psalmody was of course prominent in the *Temple* worship. But it is curious how little evidence there is of its use among the Jews in formal worship elsewhere, although it is commonly taken for granted that it entered largely into it. Bishop Lightfoot in his note on Colossians iii. 16 says, “Psalmody and hymnody were highly developed in the religious services of the Jews at this time.” It seems audacious to question this, but the passages which the bishop quotes from Philo scarcely bear out his assertion. The first of them (*In Flacc.*, 14) refers to a special occasion only; the others (*De Vita Cont.*, §§ 3, 10, 11) speak of none but the Therapeutæ; and even here, that from § 3 does not allude to public worship, while that in §§ 10, 11 is descriptive merely of what took place on their great festival, at the festive meal. The origin of the psalmody of the early Church deserves fuller investigation than it has yet received. The notices of it in the New Testament refer more directly to social life than to public worship—see Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16 (1 Cor. xiv. 26 is perhaps an exception, unless it is taken of the *Agape*)—as does the well-known passage in Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, c. xxxix.

Are we then compelled to abandon altogether the idea that the worship of the synagogue has influenced that of the Christian Church? Such a conclusion by no means follows, for traces of its influence may be sought in an entirely different quarter; and I cannot doubt that those scholars¹ are right who have recently maintained that the "Liturgy of the Catechumens" preceding the "Liturgy of the Faithful" is little more than the synagogue service adapted to the use of Christians.

To establish this it will be necessary to take a brief glance at the history of the infant Church as contained in the Acts of the Apostles. The system followed by the early Christians in the matter of public worship is there not obscurely indicated. Attendance at the Jewish services was maintained as long as possible; but from the very first it was of course supplemented by "the breaking of bread" *κατ' οἶκον*. In Jerusalem it was the worship of the Temple at which Christians were present. "Day by day continuing steadfastly with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people."² This continued attendance at the Temple service is further implied in the whole account of St. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem, and the language used by St. James in his advice to the Apostle.³ But it was evidently an impossibility for any but the comparatively small number of Christians in Jerusalem itself. Outside the holy city, Christians, like the Jews, had to be content with the services of the synagogue, which, as we have already seen, were of an entirely different character, the object of these gatherings being rather instruction than worship. That Christians would be present at these is taken for granted by St. James in the words with which

¹ As the Abbé Duchesne, *Les Origines*, p. 45, sq.

² Acts ii. 46.

³ Acts xx. 20-59.

he ends his speech at the Council of Jerusalem: "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every Sabbath."¹ The whole point of the remark is, that there is no fear of the Gentiles being ignorant of the provisions of the law, because they hear it read weekly; and the words would have no force whatever unless the Apostle could assume as a matter of course their presence in the synagogue. So also throughout the narrative of St. Paul's missionary labours, it is implied that Christians continued to take part in these services as long as it was possible for them to do so. At Beroëa apparently the whole Jewish community was won over *en masse*, and without any breach of continuity the synagogue became Christian.² This can hardly have been quite an isolated instance. The same thing probably happened in other places as well. In many places, however, after a time hostility was aroused, and the Christians were forced to withdraw. Very instructive is the account of what took place at Ephesus. There the Apostle "entered into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, reasoning and persuading as to the things concerning the kingdom of God. But when some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, reasoning daily in the school of Tyrannus."³ The expression employed, ἀφώρισε τοὺς μαθητάς, clearly implies that some definite and formal action was taken by the apostle. Hitherto the disciples had heard the Scriptures read and the sermon preached in the synagogue. This was to continue no longer, and the followers of "the Way" were in a body withdrawn by their leader.⁴ The action thus taken can have been no isolated one. If there were some com-

¹ Acts xv. 21.² Acts xvii. 10, 11.³ Acts xix. 8, 9.⁴ One is irresistibly reminded of the account of John Wesley's separation from the Moravians.

munities like that at Berœa, where the Jewish synagogue passed with no perceptible break into a Christian Church, there must have been many more where expulsion by the Jews, or (to avoid this) voluntary withdrawal on the part of the Christians, necessitated fresh provision being made for the instruction of the infant Church in the Scriptures. The faithful already had their Eucharist, possibly still daily, more probably, as seems to be implied by Acts xx. 7, every Lord's day. What then could be more natural than that they should supplement this by a service such as that to which they had been accustomed in the synagogue, a service open to all, and consisting mainly of Scripture and instruction? The only serious questions that would arise would concern the frequency of such a service, and the hour at which it should be held. Convenience would decide this last point by suggesting that it should be held immediately before the Eucharist, to which it presently came to be regarded as almost a part. The *frequency* of the service would be a matter requiring more consideration. The synagogue service was not confined to the Sabbath, but was held on Monday and Thursday as well. The Christians already assembled regularly on Sunday for "the breaking of bread." To this day therefore the preparatory service of instruction was transferred as a matter of course. Conservatism, however, would lead many to desire to retain it on the *Saturday*, the Jewish Sabbath, as well; and hence the observance of this day, as well as of the Sunday, was not unusual in the early Church, the Eucharist being celebrated in connexion with this preliminary service as on Sunday.¹ The meetings on Monday and Thursday were probably transferred to Wednesday and Friday, the "station days" of the early Church,² which, as we see from the *Ἀδελφὴ*, were

¹ Cf. the Council of Laodiceæ, canons xvi. and xlix.; *Apost. Const.*, II., lix., VIII. xxxiii.; Socrates, V. xxii., VI. viii. See Bingham's *Antiquities*, XX., c. iii.

² Tertullian, *De Oratione*, c. xiv.

observed as fasts in very early times.¹ In many Churches the Eucharist was also celebrated on these days, as well as on Sunday; but in Alexandria we learn from Socrates that "on Wednesday and Friday the Scriptures were read, and the doctors expounded them; and all the usual service was held, except the celebration of the mysteries."² This custom, Socrates expressly tells us, was of great antiquity, and the fact of its lingering on to the fifth century is a remarkable instance of a survival, for it clearly represents the original synagogue service transferred to the use of the Christian Church. In the way thus indicated it appears probable that there originated the "Liturgy of the Catechumens," which, as Mr. Hammond remarks, was "chiefly didactic in its scope and preparatory to the second solemn service,"³ to which it was more or less closely united. All our earliest notices of it agree in representing it as consisting mainly, if not exclusively, of Scripture lections followed by a sermon, and thus corresponding exactly with the service of the synagogue. Justin Martyr, it will be remembered, has in his first *Apology* given two distinct accounts of the Eucharist. In chapter lxxv. he describes the service as it was performed when a newly baptized convert was to be admitted to his first communion. In chapter lxxvii. he gives the well-known account of the ordinary Sunday service of the faithful. There is however a remarkable difference between the two accounts. Let us transcribe them both for purposes of comparison.

Chapter lxxv. "But we, after we have thus bathed him who has been convinced, and has assented to our teaching, bring him to those who are called brethren, where they are met together, to offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves, and the baptized person (τοῦ φωτισθέντος), and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good

¹ Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων, c. viii.

² Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, V. xxii.

³ *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. xxx.

citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with everlasting salvation. When we have ended our prayers we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe through the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying Amen. . . . And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those whom we call deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion."

Chapter lxvii. "On the day called Sunday all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits; then when the reader has finished, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise in common, and offer up prayers, and, as we said before, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought forth, and the president in like manner offers up prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability (*ὡς ἠδύναμις αὐτοῦ*), and the people express their assent by saying the Amen. And there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons."

It is easy to see how closely these two accounts correspond in the main outline of the service which they describe. But it is equally noteworthy that it is only the ordinary Sunday service which is described as beginning with the Scriptures and the sermon. There is no mention whatever of these in the earlier account, but apparently they proceeded straight from the baptism to the prayer in common preceding the offering of bread and wine. Hence we may fairly gather that the connexion of the preliminary portion with the Eucharist proper was somewhat loose, and that it was no necessary part of it: a fact which may reasonably be urged in favour of the view that it was in its origin distinct. Further, it must not be overlooked that Justin's language in describing this preliminary service corresponds with sin-

gular exactness to the language used by St. Luke in his notice of the synagogue service in Acts xiii. In both we have first the reading of the Scriptures ("the law and the prophets" in the synagogue, the "memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets" in the Christian Church); and in both this is followed by the exhortation or sermon, and this is all. In later times fresh material was introduced into the Liturgy, and prayers and litanies preceded the Scripture reading and the sermon; and though the essentially *didactic* character of the service was never entirely lost, yet it was somewhat obscured by the additional matter introduced. The "little entrance" became a prominent feature, as well as the singing of the supplicatory *Trisagion*; while (latest insertion of all) the Creed found a place after the Gospel, at least in some of the Western Liturgies.¹ But of all this there is no trace in our earliest authorities. They speak of nothing beyond the Scripture reading and instruction as being contained in the Mass of the Catechumens. The so-called *Apostolic Canons* condemn "those of the faithful who enter and hear the holy Scriptures, but do not stay during prayer and the holy communion,"² the prohibition being evidently directed against those of the baptized who departed with the catechumens, and to the same effect speaks a canon of the Council of Antioch in 341.³

Lastly, it is remarkable how closely the so called "Clementine Liturgy," which Mr. Hammond thinks "represents fairly the pre-Constantinian liturgy of about the middle of the third century,"⁴ corresponds with the description given by Justin Martyr. This so-called liturgy is preserved in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which how-

¹ The Creed was not inscribed into any Liturgy before the fifth century. Its position after the Gospel, which was general in the West (except in Spain), was not adopted in the East, where it occurs later on in the service.

² *Apost. Canons*, x.

³ Canon xxii.

⁴ *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. xxxviii.

ever requires to be supplemented by the description of the introductory portion of the liturgy in book ii. Taken together, the two passages furnish us with a complete view of the whole service. In book viii. the account of the eucharistic service follows immediately upon the description of the consecration of a bishop, and begins thus :

"After the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and our Epistles, and Acts, and the Gospel, let him that is ordained salute the Church, saying, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all'; and let them all answer, 'And with thy spirit.' And after these words let him speak to the people the words of exhortation; and when he has ended his word of doctrine, all standing up, let the deacon ascend upon some high seat, and proclaim, 'Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers stay.'"

Then follow the prayers for the dismissal of the catechumens, energumens, etc.; after which there is a Litany for the faithful, corresponding to Justin's prayer *in common*.¹

Here it will be noticed that the dismissal of the catechumens, etc., follows immediately upon the conclusion of the sermon. The same fact is seen also in book ii. There the directions are given at greater length for the reading of the various books of the Old Testament, a Psalm being apparently sung after two lections from the Old Testament; and then follow directions for reading of the Acts, the Epistles and Gospel; after which the account proceeds to say :

"In the next place, let the presbyters, one by one, not all together, exhort the people, and in the last place the bishop, as being the commander."

And then immediately follows the dismissal of the catechumens.

"After this let all rise up with consent, and looking towards the East, *after the catechumens and penitents are gone out*, pray to God," etc.²

¹ *Apost. Const.*, book vii., c. v.

² *Apost. Const.*, book ii., c. lvii.

These various notices, and the facts here collected together furnish, it must be admitted, no inconsiderable amount of evidence in favour of the view that *Missa Catechumenorum*, of which our ante-communion office, with the Epistle and Gospel and sermon, is the lineal descendant, is really nothing but the service of the Jewish synagogue transferred to the use of the Christian Church.

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

II.

(1 COR. xv. 42-44.)

By the help of analogies from nature the Apostle has been able to meet three difficulties attending the belief that there is a resurrection of the dead. The dead rise, he had said; and it followed that, so rising, they must have bodies, for without a body no man can be thought of as existing. The first difficulty therefore had been, With what kind of body do the dead come? How can they be thought of as having bodies at all, when the bodies which they possessed during the life in which we knew them have returned to corruption? If they may have bodies, had been the second difficulty, will these bodies be adapted to the condition of a heavenly world? If they will be so adapted, had been the third difficulty, and thus be so different from what they were, can personal identity have been preserved? These three questions have been answered, and the application has now to be made in a more positive treatment of the subject.

This application is made at ver. 42: "So also is the resurrection of the dead"; that is, the resurrection of the dead follows the same order and law as may be seen in

the analogies of nature that have been spoken of. We have here one of those instances of breviloquence which are common in all languages, a thought implied though not fully expressed. In speaking of the plant which sprang from the seed, St. Paul evidently did not think of the mere fact of the springing alluded to. He thought also of the plant itself as a living plant, and of the new state into which it was introduced. He thought of the life that was in the new form, and of which the new form was the expression. In like manner he does not think now only of the *act* of rising from the dead, but of the *life* which follows it. Something of a similar kind, although there the tense of the verb used makes the meaning clearer, is to be found in ver. 4 of this chapter: "And that He (Christ) hath been raised [not 'was raised' of Authorized Version] on the third day." Not merely did Christ rise, but His resurrection was to ever-enduring, eternal life.

If what has been said be admitted, it may help us over a difficulty connected with the next following words, rendered in both the Authorized and Revised Versions, "It is sown in corruption," etc. The subject spoken of, it is said, is the body, which indeed is expressly named in ver. 44: *σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν*. *Σῶμα* is therefore to be taken back to the beginning of ver. 42, and the "it" of the English rendering is to be understood as "the body." So most commentators. But there are difficulties in the way of accepting this view; for (1) Although the apostle has been treating of the body, it is less the body alone than the body regarded as the outward organ and expression of the man that he has in his eye; (2) The *σῶμα* of ver. 44 is too far off, and we ought to find it mentioned in ver. 42. Even when it first meets us in ver. 44, it is a predicate, rather than directly the subject of the sentence; (3) If supplied as proposed, we shall hardly be able to avoid thinking of death and burial as the moment at which the

sowing takes place, and not a few commentators who advocate its introduction as *subject* at the beginning of ver. 42 allow that this cannot be done.¹ Another rendering accordingly has been suggested, in which *σπείρεται* is treated as an impersonal verb.² "It is sown"; that is, "There is a sowing in corruption," etc. The point need not be enlarged on; for, on the one hand, a reference to the body cannot be denied; and, on the other hand, there is a sufficiently general admission that the Apostle must be understood to speak of the body, not at the instant only when it is buried, but as the habitation of man during his present earthly life. When, in the first clause of ver. 42, he says, "So also is the resurrection of the dead," he has in view, not simply the act of rising, but the resurrection state into which believers enter. In like manner, when he speaks of the *νεκροί*, though the immediate reference is to their death, he is really thinking of their whole mortal in contrast with their whole immortal life. All the earthly course of man, from its beginning to its end, from the cradle to the grave, is the time of his being sown; and truth is that

"Which we are toiling all our lives to find,
In darkness lost, the darkness of the grave."

No other interpretation does justice to the context. The terms "dishonour" and "weakness" are too wide to find a suitable application to the body only when it is committed to the dust; while it would be extremely unnatural to call it a *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, a body with a sensuous life, at the very time when that life has left it.

Thus then, contrasting the life of man in his earthly body with his life in his resurrection body, St. Paul proceeds to point out how infinitely more glorious is the latter than

¹ Comp. Ellicott, Edwards.

² Comp. Moulton's *Winer*, p. 656; Hofmann *in loc.*; Godet *in loc.*

the former. "It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." What is the meaning of these appellations?

Godet, adopting the right reference of the sowing, not to the act of burial, but to all the earthly life of man, supposes that, in the terms thus used, the apostle travels backwards in thought through the different stages of a mortal pilgrimage from death to birth. "Corruption" thus refers to death and dissolution in the grave; "dishonour" to all the ills and miseries which precede and prepare the way for death; "weakness," to the helplessness of infancy when the child is born; while the word "natural" (*ψυχικός*) carries us still further back to the instant at which the breath of life is communicated to the physical germ about to be developed into the instrument and organism of the future life on earth. The explanation can hardly be looked at in any other light than as fanciful and unnatural. Had the apostle been alluding to the different stages of man's earthly life, he would surely have begun at the beginning, and have passed onward to the end. But there is no need to think of stages. Each term used is applicable to human life as a whole, and the progress lying latent in the words is one, not of time, but of thought.

Thus the glorified body which man is to possess at his resurrection and in his resurrection state rises before the mind of the apostle "in incorruption"; and he exclaims, "It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption." He has no thought of sin in saying so, but only of liability to change and to dissolution. Here all things pass away. Years, as they sweep over us, and especially when they bring us near the great step which transfers us to the eternal world, bring with them only increasing infirmities, more multiplied tokens that the tabernacle in which we

dwelling shall soon be altogether taken down. There, "incorruption": no insidious approaches of sickness or disease, no colour fading from the cheek or light from the eye, no wearied frame hardly able to bear the burden of itself, no palsied limb, but the blessed glow of health and strength diffused through the whole man, and to be enhanced rather than diminished as the ages of eternity run on. Next, "in glory:" "It is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory." Again the Apostle has no thought of any positive dishonour inflicted by either God or man upon the body during the present life; and surely still less does he think of any later contempt poured upon the thought of it, as if it were supposed to lie in the grave unremembered and unloved. "Dishonour" is simply in contrast with "glory." Twice in other passages of his writings does St. Paul use the word, when he would express the nature of those meaner vessels of a great house, which are either made of wood or stone, instead of gold or silver, or which, if made of the same material as others, are less elaborately finished and adorned.¹ The true parallel to the thought is to be found in the contrast presented to us in the Epistle to the Philippians between the "body of our humiliation" which is to be fashioned anew, and the body of Christ's glory to which it is to be conformed. Such is the lowliness of man's body now. Fearfully and wonderfully as it is made, it is yet a poor frame in comparison with what it shall be when "the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father," and when they shall be clothed with a glory corresponding to that of the "new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." Once more, St. Paul sees the body of man in "power:" "It is sown in weakness; it is raised in power." Here it is frail, helpless, exposed to infirmities and diseases of all kinds.

¹ Rom. ix. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 20.

There it is possessed of power, and has gained a complete mastery over every ill.

In all this, as especially appears from the words that follow, and have still to be considered, the Apostle is not thinking of the effect produced upon man's earthly state by his fall from the condition in which he was originally created. He has in view a state of matters which existed previously to the fall. No doubt there is a sense in which it may be said that sin has brought into the world "death and all our woe." But it seems to be the clear teaching of St. Paul throughout the passage now under consideration, that the "corruption," the "dishonour," and the "weakness" of which he speaks are properties of our present human frame in itself, properties that belonged even to the frame of our first parents in their state in paradise. No ethical idea therefore is to be attached to the words. Man, even in his best estate, had been fitted for life in this earthly, material scene, in which he was to work out and to pass through his preparation for a higher. That higher scene now shines brightly before the eye of the Apostle, as he places himself on the other side of the river of time and death; and it is one of "incorruption," of "glory," and of "power."

At ver. 44 of the chapter St. Paul continues his description of the contrast between the present and the resurrection state of believers, yet with an important change in his line of thought. Hitherto he had spoken of the contrast in its more outward features, and the arrangement thus indicated might have been nothing more than an arbitrary arrangement on the part of God. Without regard to any deeper principles of His government, God might have simply willed that the change to take effect on the bodies of His saints at the resurrection should be from corruption to incorruption, from dishonour to glory, from weakness to power. At the point of the argument which we now reach new

ground is occupied, and the nature of the body to be bestowed upon believers when they rise from the dead is brought into connexion with everlasting principles of the Divine administration of the universe.

1. The fact meets us. "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." The words here used, "natural" (accepting that translation in the meantime), "spiritual," and "body," cannot be examined in a paper such as this with that fulness of statement which their importance might justify or seem even to demand, but a few remarks upon them must be made.

(1) What is the conception to be attached to the word "body"? Certainly not that commonly entertained, that it is the mere covering of the soul, standing to the soul in a relation similar to that of the shell to the kernel of a nut. The connexion between the two is much more intimate. The body is an organism, and its organized existence depends, alike in its beginning and in its continuance, upon the fact that a vital power not only dwells in it as in a house, but permeates or interpenetrates it in such a way that all its different parts or members constitute one whole (1 Cor. xii. 12-26). From the head "all the body fitly framed and knit together through every joint of the supply, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body" (Eph. iv. 16). This vital power however may be of entirely different kinds. It may be spiritual or carnal, heavenly or earthly. There is no closer connexion between the body as such and any one of the forces by which it may be animated and used, than between the body and any other of these forces. The *σῶμα* is not the *σάρξ*. The latter may be the ruling principle in the former, and may become so identified with it that when the *σῶμα* is spoken of, it may, as in Romans viii. 10, include the *σάρξ*. But the *σάρξ* has no necessary relation to the *σῶμα*. Its power may be destroyed while the *σῶμα* still

remains the *σῶμα*, employed as their instruments by good instead of evil principles. Hence, accordingly, the *σῶμα* may be "holy," which the *σάρξ* can never be; it is "for the Lord, and the Lord is for it" (1 Cor. vi. 13); "it is even the 'temple'—the *ναός*, the innermost shrine—of the Holy Spirit in believers" (1 Cor. vi. 19): it is to be presented to God "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, our reasonable (or spiritual, Revised Version, margin) service" (Rom. xii. 1): nay, it was the instrument fashioned by the Almighty for the eternal Son, that by means of it He might complete the work of man's redemption (Heb. x. 5).

The idea therefore apt to be entertained by many, that there is an incompatibility, or even a contrariety, between what is spiritual and what is bodily, is wholly false. In St. Paul's view there is no such opposition. With him spiritual is opposed to what is either carnal or belonging to the same category, and the distinguishing feature of what is called the "body" is, not that it is better fitted for what is evil than for what is good, but that it is the form in which either the one or the other is made manifest.

Again, we are nowhere taught that the particles of which the body is composed are necessarily heavy and sluggish, ill adapted to the activity and life of the spirit. For aught we know they may be of an entirely different description. Not their weight, but their relation to one another, their dependence upon one another, their interest in one another, and their mutual helpfulness, constitute them a "body." The use of that word throws no light upon the nature of the particles of which the body is composed, either in its earthly or its heavenly, its pre-resurrection or its post-resurrection, state. These particles may be like those of our present frames, or they may be in striking contrast with them. The word "body" only says that there shall be an investiture or framework within which the vital force

shall dwell, and by which each possessor of a body shall be separated from his fellows.

(2) "Natural" (*ψυχικός*). The translation is that of both the Authorized and Revised Versions, but few will be found to deny that it is not a happy one. For, in the first place, the word "natural" is in a high degree ambiguous; and in the second place, it conveys no conception of any internal force or power in man which expresses itself in the particular kind of body spoken of. Yet the term of the original is exceedingly difficult to translate. It is not of frequent occurrence in the New Testament. Except in the verses immediately before us, it is found only three times in the whole compass of that book: in 1 Corinthians ii. 14, James iii. 15, and Jude ver. 19. In the first of these passages it is again rendered, alike in the Authorized Version and the Revised Version, "natural," and in the second and third "sensual"; although the revisers sufficiently indicate their perplexity by attaching to it on these last occasions a double margin, "natural" or "animal."

There may be no complete remedy for this, as no word of the English language properly represents the Greek. Certainly the refuges of despair suggested by recent inquirers, "soulish" and "soulual," are still more objectionable. Yet, even allowing this, it is hardly possible not to feel that each of the three renderings found in the Revised Version and its margin leads us astray. The adjective, it will be admitted, must be understood in the sense of the substantive from which it comes, and *ψυχή* means neither what is "natural," nor what is "sensual," nor what is "animal" in human nature. *ψυχή* is the life-principle, the principle of personality, in man regarded simply as a creature of this present world, and in contradistinction to the religious principle which connects him with another and a higher world. It is not necessarily sinful, although it is

capable of admitting a sinful as well as, in other circumstances, a Divine principle to rule in it. And it is not necessarily a degraded thing, for it may include our highest gifts of reason, intelligence, and emotion, so long as these are unconnected with a spiritual world. The essence, in short, of the biblical conception of *ψυχή* appears to be that it is that in man which adapts him to this world of sense in which he for the present moves; that which, along with the body, constitutes him a part of the visible and tangible creation.

These considerations at once suggest the true meaning to be assigned to the word *ψυχικός*, neither "natural," nor "sensual," nor "animal," but ruled by the senses, or by the material things around us as they are apprehended by the senses; and the English adjective which appears to come nearest to the expression of this thought is "sensuous." It will be found upon examination that this rendering is admirably adapted to the three passages above referred to. The last of the three indeed, Jude 19, demands it. To read "sensual, having not the Spirit," is to introduce a contrast of an unscriptural and most misleading kind. In the meantime therefore, contenting ourselves simply with translating the word, what we read of man's present state, and especially of his bodily organization during his present state is, "it is sown a sensuous body."

(3) "Spiritual." There can be little or no doubt as to the meaning of this word. It stands in a relation to spirit similar to that in which "sensuous" stands to sense; and the word "spirit," when spoken of man, points to that part of human nature which brings us into contact with God. "God is spirit" (John iv. 24), and there must therefore be something in man, come whence it may, and either at the first or later, which enables us to hold communion with spirit, and partakes of the nature of spirit. Such is the teaching of the New Testament. There is another side of

human nature than that which is alone appealed to by the things of sense. There is the spiritual side, that by which thought and aspiration pass from the material to the immaterial, from the visible to the invisible, from the earthly to the super-earthly, from man to God. And this spiritual principle, for the complete appropriation of which man is even originally fitted, may become the dominating principle of the man, and therefore of the body with which man works. That is the spiritual in man.

Thus then we are prepared to follow the contrast between man's present and future state, as, in the first place, the facts of that contrast are set before us in the words, "It is sown a sensuous body; it is raised a spiritual body." The body now possessed by man is, above all, distinguished by this, that it is linked to the objects of sense and governed by their influence. Not indeed that such a state is in itself necessarily low and degraded, one of which we can speak only with opprobrium or contempt. We may justly use far other language; for how striking and illustrative of Divine wisdom is the correspondence between each of our senses and the particular department of external nature to which it is adapted. How are our faculties called into exercise, strengthened, and delighted by] the appeals continually made to them through the objects of earth and sky! How are our affections nourished by the various relationships in which we stand to one another in the family, in society, in the nation, in the world at large!

What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!

And the body is scarcely less an instrument in all this than the mind and heart. Let us not condemn the "sensuous body." It is "fearfully and wonderfully made."

In one respect indeed such a body fails. It is not completely adapted to that spiritual and eternal world, relation to which is as truly a part of what God has designed for us as is relation to the world of sense. To the spiritual world it is not adapted, for how limited is the body when it comes to deal with the unseen ! To the eternal it is not, for how brief is the span of its existence before it returns to the dust ! Nay, the loftier the flight of the spirit in its religious life, the sooner does the body feel itself unable to bear it longer ; and, though "the hoary head is a crown of glory when it is found in the way of righteousness," yet old age has already one foot in the grave, and the other may have to follow it at the very moment when the life seemed to be most full of instruction and most rich in promise. The "sensuous body" has at best its elements of "corruption" and "dishonour" and "weakness" ; and, unless there be another principle stronger than they, they must prevail at last.

Such a principle, accordingly, the Apostle tells us that there is, as he points us forward to the time when what has been sown a sensuous body shall be "raised a spiritual body." As the "sensuous body" is the body ruled by sense, so the "spiritual body" is the body ruled by spirit. We have already seen that that time has not yet come : but it will come, when the limits of the sensuous world shall no longer hem us in ; when the restraints of our earthly, material investiture shall be broken through ; and when, under the all-pervading and dominating power of spirit, the body, in its strength, rapidity of movement, and ever-renewed youthfulness of vigour, shall be the meet companion of the soul in its loftiest flights. In the spiritual body the restrictions of the sensuous body shall wholly disappear. With it the believer shall rise superior to languor and weariness and death. Then shall be said of him literally what now can be said of him only ideally, that

he is fitted for serving God day and night in His temple, and for walking with Him in the land, the sun of which no more goes down, and the moon of which no more withdraws itself.

Of both the kinds of body thus referred to we have undoubted examples in the life of our Lord. While He tabernacled among men He had a "sensuous" body, like the other members of that family in which He was taking the place of elder brother. He hungered; He thirsted; He sat weary by Jacob's well; He fell asleep, probably worn out by toil, in the boat upon the Sea of Galilee; during His agony in the garden His sweat was like great drops of blood falling down to the ground. "Forasmuch as the children are sharers in blood and flesh, He also Himself in like manner partook of the same" (Heb. ii. 14). After His resurrection there was a great change. We read no longer of hunger, or thirst, or weariness, or pores of the body opened by pain and agony. We read of a body which was obviously altogether different from what it had been, but was in every respect obedient and subservient to the spirit. In that body in its two different stages we behold the type and model of our own, as it is and as it is destined to be. The experience of the Head shall also be the experience of the members. "It is sown a sensuous body; it is raised a spiritual body."

We have looked at the facts as stated by the Apostle, but the most remarkable part of this forty-fourth verse is—

2. The principle to which St. Paul refers in illustration and confirmation of his statement. According to the reading of the T.R. indeed—the reading followed in the Authorized Version—the Apostle simply goes on to say, "There is a sensuous body, and there is a spiritual body"; but the reading adopted by the most distinguished later editors of the New Testament, and resting upon what seems an overpowering weight of evidence, supplies

the translation adopted in the Revised Version : " If there is a sensuous (in Revised Version 'natural') body, there is also a spiritual body." The fact that the one exists leads to the conclusion that the other also exists, or that it will in due time do so. Upon what fundamental principle, or upon what process of reasoning, does this conclusion rest? Hardly upon the conviction only that the spiritual body is "the perfect development" of the sensuous body, and that the existence of the latter, with its great capabilities, "suggests and, to a mind that believes in the living and good God, demonstrates the future existence of the former. The resurrection of the dead is an instance of the universal law of progress."¹ This may be in part the explanation. St. Paul certainly seems, throughout this passage as a whole, to imply, that there is a great law of progress in the universe, and it may be that he found an instance of it in the fact that the sensuous body will at last pass into the spiritual body. But that is not his thought at the present moment; and, in so far as it involves the idea of a *gradual* development, it is rather opposed to his convictions than expressive of them. His reasoning appears rather to rest upon the principle that, when God gives the inward, He gives also its appropriate outward garb or frame; that He gives that, in short, without which we should only have an idea in the Divine Mind. Whatever be the human life-force, St. Paul believes that it will have a suitable vehicle for its energies.

Now two things he knew, and we may know. First, he knew, as a matter of daily experience, that the law upon the thought of which he was dwelling was exemplified in our sensuous life. The life-force ruling us in that life had a sensuous frame adapted to it. Secondly, he knew that there was such a thing as the spirit-life, both in Christ and in the members of His body. He had already written, and was to

¹ Edwards, *in loc.* : comp. Beet, *in loc.*

write more, to the Corinthian Church about that spirit-life. He and they knew it in Christ. They believed in the risen Lord as "Spirit" (1 Cor. vi. 17). They were yet again to be taught the same lesson, and, in addition, that they were to be "transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord, who was spirit" (2 Cor. iii. 18). Unless therefore they denied the higher spirit-life and the risen Lord, it followed that, as the sensuous life has now its appropriate earthly frame, so the spirit-life must some day receive its corresponding spiritual frame. St. Paul's mind had been already full of a similar thought at ver. 38, when he spoke of the manner in which the vital force of the seed, stirred into action by being committed to the soil, received from God a new body, as it pleased Him. The same thought, although in a more general form, occupies him now; and it is the sole thought upon which he dwells. He says nothing of any innate power possessed by the spirit to weave, as it were, for itself a corresponding covering; nor does he enter into the question whether the embodiment is produced by an instantaneous fiat of the Creator, or by a long and gradual process, in the course of which the nobler vital principle overcomes irregularities, smooths away roughnesses, and by imperceptible degrees establishes perfect harmony between the inner life and the outward form. He deals as yet simply with the fact that, as there is a spiritual principle in believers which will one day assert in them complete dominion, so we may be assured that to that principle there will yet be given its corresponding framework. It had been thus with Christ, whose heavenly life, led even now at the right hand of the Father, was acknowledged by all Christians at Corinth to have found expression in His heavenly body. Could it be otherwise with those who followed in His footsteps and were partakers of His spirit? No; for that heavenly or spiritual body had not been a mere gift to the risen Lord,

in return for all that He had done and suffered. It had been bestowed upon Him in fulfilment of a universal law; and, if that law took effect upon the Head, it would in due time, as the members shared the spirit of the Head, take effect also upon them.

W. MILLIGAN.

THE SIXTY-THIRD PSALM.

THE Feast of Tabernacles, important in the very earliest times, became still more endeared to the Jews by its connexion with the Maccabæan heroes. It is in the later Maccabæan age that we first hear of that strange custom, implied in John vii. 37, of drawing water from the Pool of Siloam, and pouring it out as a drink-offering at the foot of the altar. The rejoicings of the multitude on the last day of the feast passed all bounds, and an ordinary teacher would perchance have despaired of winning the ear of the excited spectators. Jesus, however, with His keen eye for symbols, saw that this popular ceremony might furnish a text for one of His heart-searching appeals. Just as the priest had poured out the water from the golden pitcher at the foot of the altar (so at least we may suppose), Jesus stood forth and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink."

The words presuppose that the people were accustomed to symbolism like this. And certain it is that many of those who heard them at once began to question whether this might not be the prophet who was to come in the latter days, or even the Messiah himself. I should not wonder if the idea was suggested to them by a passage from a prophetic hymn in Isaiah which was inserted in the liturgy of the Feast of Tabernacles: "*In that day*" (i.e. probably in the Messianic age) "*ye shall draw water with*

joy out of the wells of salvation."¹ Nor was the idea of spiritual thirst unexpressed in that complete devotional manual of the Jewish Church, the Psalter. Let us therefore connect our Lord's words with the first verse of the 63rd Psalm, than which few of the temple-songs are more beautiful, or better reward a repeated study. This "prayer without a petition," as it has been called, has been a favourite with devout minds in all ages; and if we no longer use it, with St. Athanasius, as a morning hymn—for the experiences of the author were perhaps too uncommon to justify this—we may at least treasure it up as a precious jewel, to be taken out and contemplated in our deepest and most sacred moments.

Let me first tell the story of the psalmist, which the trained eye can recover in some of its details from his own work, illustrated by a neighbouring psalm. He is one of those faithful Jews whose allegiance both to their heavenly and to their earthly king, no temporary reverses can shake. He has probably, though but a temple-singer, accompanied the royal army, which is still battling for religious and political independence. Not long ago (if the 60th Psalm belongs to the same period) Jehovah "caused his people to see hard things, and made them to drink the wine of bewilderment." They had taken the field for the true religion; Jehovah had, as it seemed, raised their banner, but it was only that they might flee before the bow.² And though some improvement in their fortunes has taken place, yet how can they pray with their wonted confidence that God will answer? Were they at home, they would go up, like Hezekiah, to the house of Jehovah, and spread the matter before the Lord. But here, in the wilderness, how can they open their parched lips save to cry aloud, and lament their distance from the God of their salvation? "*From the end of the earth,*" says one of them, "*I call unto*

¹ Isa. xii. 3.² Ps. lx. 3, 4 (see Ewald).

thee with fainting heart";¹ and another, "*My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh pineth for thee, in a dry and weary land, where no water is.*" It is not that they are incapable of braving physical hardships, not that they cannot stand long marches or endure the pains of thirst. "The end of the earth," "a dry and weary land,"—these are symbols of spiritual privations which are harder to bear than any physical ones. The speakers may, likely enough, be in a remote part of the country, and the time may be close upon midsummer, when, except in the mountains, the soil is dried up, and its deep cracks seem to gape wearily for the showers which come not. But what the sufferers miss the most is the sense of nearness to God. They long, as the second verse says, to see God's power and glory (by transposing its two clauses in the Bible version we shall see the meaning better), even as in time past they have, in some sense, gazed upon Him in the sanctuary. They have been wont to look through the forms of the ritual to the Face which shines behind them, and in so doing they have had soul-satisfying impressions of God's power and glory. They are now deprived of this privilege; but they can at least complain of their misery, and pant like the hunted gazelle to slake their thirst at the living waters.² They have not ceased for one moment to appropriate their share in the common Father. They can still pray, "O God, thou art my God"; and if they seem separated from Him, they will still obey His gracious command, "Seek ye my face." And, lo, the answer to this "prayer without a petition" is on its way. They wish themselves back in the sanctuary. But God will teach them how to dispense even with this most sacred means of grace. The ages are rolling on; Christ is nearer now than when David said to Nathan the prophet, "See now, I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within tent-curtains."³ It is time that

¹ Ps. lxi. 2.² Cf. Ps. xlii. 1.³ 2 Sam. vii. 2.

men should cease to think that the presence of God can be confined in any sense, either to a tent or a house of stone. But how gently does the guiding Spirit lift Israel up to a higher point of view! A far-seeing prophet has already cried, "What manner of house will ye build unto me (*i.e.* unto Jehovah)? and what place shall be my rest?"¹ This was too paradoxical for the Church at large to realize. But even ordinary believers might see that, though the temple-services were the highest means of grace, yet, when they were parted from them, there were compensations to be had from an all-sufficient God. And it was this that Jehovah taught His Church through a succession of psalmists after the return from the Captivity. Other temple-poets preceded our psalmist, who seems to have lived in the times of the Maccabæan princes.² But God's lessons need to be repeated to the Church again and again; and there were doubtless reasons why the lesson should be renewed in the time of the psalmist, who was rewarded for his thirst after God by a special outpouring of the Spirit—not for his own sake alone, but for that of the Church.

How long he waited for it, we know not. It is possible that the two first verses are but a condensed record of a painful experience, such as occupies many verses in the 42nd and 43rd Psalms.³ But it is also possible that this psalmist had but a short time to wait before his unspoken petition was abundantly granted. God selects His instruments with a view to their special work. The authors of

¹ Isa. lxvi. 1.

² This is not the place to justify the date here given for one of the most difficult of the psalms. Without some provisional date, the psalm would lose much of its force and beauty. Those who will, may follow Delitzsch, who thinks that "the king" spoken of and the psalmist are one and the same person, *viz.* David. At any rate, I hope I have done something to show that no modification of critical opinion can impair either the poetical or the spiritual value of the Hebrew psalms.

³ There is no doubt but that these originally formed but one psalm (see Delitzsch).

the 42^d and the 63^d psalms were both lyric poets, but the former was of a still more sensitive, and therefore still more poetic, nature than the latter. His mission was to describe with inimitable truth and beauty the pain of unsatisfied aspiration. That of his brother-poet was to contrast the agony of spiritual longing with the joy of recovered communion with God. Psalm xlii. rises no higher than a confident expectation of a return to mount Zion; but in Psalm lxiii., as it has come down to us, we pass at once from the complaint of the thirsting to the anthem of the refreshed and rejoicing soul. The author of Psalm xlii. is great in remembering; he "pours out his soul" in a sad retrospect; but our psalmist knows that there is a time to remember and also a time to forget. He forgets for a time all that is painful in his situation, and remembers only what God is permanently and essentially. From this great source of comfort he draws the assurance that God's countenance is not really veiled, and that he can still praise God as joyfully as in the temple-choir; and when he does remember the difficulties of his situation, he turns the thought, in the power of the new assurance which has come to him, into a prophecy of the destruction of his heathen enemies.

But it is not upon the latter part of the psalm that I would now dwell. I have already excused the bitterness which mars some of the Maccabæan psalms. It is the course taken by this thoroughly human-hearted poet to which I desire to draw attention. He rises from the thought that God is love (the thought is his, though not the very words) to the denial (implied, though not expressed) that his communion with God can be vitally affected by his absence from the temple. Love knows no barriers—least of all the Divine love. Hints have already been given of a catholic Church of all nations. How should any of its worshippers—above all, Israelitish ones—be debarred from

the fullest spiritual privileges by the accident of their habitation? What, then, can the psalmist have lost but a symbol of Jehovah's presence among His people which He who has for a time withdrawn it will not suffer him to miss? The psalmist has indeed missed it for a moment; but when he thinks of God's eternal love, he passes into a stage of experience which is independent of forms, because that which alone makes forms desirable has been obtained without them—the inward vision of God. Nay, has he not, here in the wilderness, had specially strong proofs of that which could not be learned so well in the temple—the Divine lovingkindness? No doubt the pious worshipper drank in the sense of God's love in the temple; but there was a certain awfulness attached by long association to the place where the ark¹ had been, which may have weakened the impression of the Divine love. The psalmist himself tells us that God's power and glory were what he had chiefly beheld in the temple services, and from the psalm which precedes this we gather that the truth of God's essential lovingkindness was, even after the return, less generally recognised in the Church than that of His absolute power.² Should not the psalmist then acquiesce in a temporary loss, without which he could not so effectually have learned that God's lovingkindness followed him all his days, and that in the highest and fullest sense he could dwell in the house of the Lord for ever? Well may he say,

*"My soul is satisfied as with marrow and fatness,
And my mouth praiseth thee with joyful lips."*

Yes; it was worth while to sojourn in a thirsty land to receive such showers of blessing from the Lord of life. If God's lovingkindness is better than life itself, much more must it be better than any of those symbolic services from which the psalmist is at present parted, and to which he will return with so deep a knowledge of the truth which

¹ Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 60, cxxxii. 8.

² See Ps. lxii. 11, 12.

they symbolize? This pious man felt as if he had, not indeed lost his God, but been deprived of the privilege of immediate access to Him. He must indeed have known better than this, for psalmists before his time had at any rate suggested a doctrine on ritual almost Christian in its spirituality. But trouble had brought a film over his eye, and he could not see the new and but half assimilated truth. Hence his restless discontent. For "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our heart remains restless until it find rest in Thee." The most sacred forms do us harm if they step between us and the supreme object of devotion. It is well to be parted from them—it is well even to part ourselves from them—for a time, that we may the better realize the directness of the soul's relation to God and the inexhaustible riches of His grace. For, alas! there is such a thing as a merely formal and notional religion. Too many ritual forms are as dangerous as too many sermons. Forms and sermons are only useful to those who come to them with an unappeasable longing to get that which by nature we cannot have—filial intercourse with God. The essential is, neither to be a ritualist nor a non-ritualist, neither to hear many nor to hear few sermons, but to hunger and thirst after God. And nothing can satisfy this noble craving but experience.

And now I can return to the glorious saying of Jesus on the last day of the feast. The historical fact, that on the scene of history, once in the ages a Divine Man has appeared is a far greater proof than any which the psalmists possessed of the inconceivable love of God. They knew indeed that even greater wonders than any in the past were in store for Israel and the world in the latter days; but they could not guess what form Jehovah's creative originality would select. Moreover they knew and loved Jeremiah's great prophecy of the new covenant; but they could not divine how the promised blessings of forgiveness and regeneration

would be conveyed to thirsting souls. We, more fortunate, do know. We have it all at our fingers' ends. But do we really know it? Why then do we not live more in accordance with these blessed truths? Were it not best to forget our poor, ineffectual, fancied knowledge, and once more become learners in the school of Jesus and His apostles? It is too often our fatal familiarity with modern religious phrases which hinders us from getting to the root of religious truth. The best remedy for educated persons is the historical and yet devotional study of the Scriptures, and more especially of the gospels. I cannot be too earnest in impressing this: the life of Christ, historically studied, is at once the best evidence of Christianity and the unfailing source of new impulses to repentance and faith. Follow Jesus as He moves about, healing bodies and souls, in the narrow streets of Eastern towns and villages; follow Him from the manger to the cross and to the opening tomb. Believe that He was not less the Son of man because He claimed to be the Son of God, and that what He was 1800 years ago He still is.

"What if Thy form we cannot see?
We know and feel that Thou art here."

Come to Him when He calls the weary and heavy-laden to His side—if at least you feel yourself to belong to this class. Come to Him when He says, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink"—if at least you feel that the words "any man" cover your own case; for how should you open your lips to drink, if you are not athirst? True life, which in that Eastern book the Bible is compared to sweet, fresh water, consists in likeness to God. If you do not thirst for this God-likeness, which consists in "doing always those things that please" God, how should you drink of the lifegiving water which the Son of God brings?

"Ye believe in God," said Jesus, "believe also in me."

The psalmists *did* believe in God; they thirsted for new life, and so God gave it them—how, they knew not, save that it was through His abundant lovingkindness, and that it was the first-fruits of the new covenant of Jeremiah's prophecy. And if we believe in God as they did, and cry to Him as they did, "O God, thou art my God: teach me to do the thing that pleaseth thee," He will assuredly respond to us as He did to the holy psalmists, and still more clearly to His own first disciples. The great want, both of the world and of the Church, is this—to believe more earnestly in God. It would be untrue to say that we do not believe at all. Faith is not dead, but sleepeth. We do believe, but intermittently. We do in our best moments wish to please God, but we do not give thought enough to the manifold difficulties which hinder the accomplishment of the wish. We do not draw upon the magnificent resources so freely placed at our disposal—resources of "wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption." We have faith, but not that which worketh, which energizeth, by love. If we had—if, for instance, in those social and religious difficulties which so strikingly characterize our times, we leaned more constantly and avowedly on the help of the Divine Spirit of wisdom, would there have been such disputes between capital and labour as those which so lately saddened the bright summer weather? and would such important sections of our population be in part or altogether alienated from the Christian Church?

Let us then put more earnestness into our religious life. When we have time to think our own deepest thoughts, we do crave for that which is far better than all earthly excitement—the joy of the experience of Christ's love. When the world leaves us free, and the outer noises are still, our heart does throb in response to the psalmist's cry, "O God, thou art my God, earnestly do I seek thee."

Let us then dare to be ourselves more constantly, and make it our one ambition (as St. Paul says¹) to be well-pleasing unto Christ. No difficulties need be too great for us; "for of his fulness," says even St. John, "have all we received, and grace for grace." Let us not consider ourselves excused for the weakness of our spiritual pulse by the demands of business. It is possible to hallow those dry details which no hard worker can escape by the thought that we are placed where we are for a moral purpose by the holy will of God.

"There are in this loud stunning tide
Of human care and crime
With whom the melodies abide
Of the everlasting chime;
Who carry music in their heart
Through dusky lane and wrangling mart,
Plying their daily task with busier feet,
Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat."²

Would you know this holy strain? The psalmists can give you the words, but the music must come from within your soul. "Sing unto the Lord a new song"; for when has the experience of two souls been altogether alike? We are born into the world of nature alone, and alone we are born into the world of grace. Special mercies need special gratitude. The music of the soul is like the "new name, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it." My God must "open my lips," and give me the new song, before my tongue can rightly "show forth his praise."

And what is it that cheers the tired worker when the melodies of the holy strain sound faintly within him? This simple thought: that in heaven his thirst after goodness and righteousness, and after Him who is their living image, will be filled. "Thy lovingkindness," said the

¹ 2 Cor. v. 9 (Rev. Ver., margin).

² Keble, *Christian Year*: "St. Matthew the Apostle."

psalmist, "is better than life itself": of course, for life at its best is but an imperfectly transparent veil, on the other side of which "just men made perfect" have an immediate perception of the glory of God in Christ. Strictly speaking, indeed, "the eye is not satisfied with seeing," even in heaven. Aspiration will still be the glory of those who have been born into the better life. But the thirst of heaven will have no trace of pain in it. It will be simply the sense that for ages upon ages we shall still be able to make fresh discoveries of the greatness and goodness of our King, and of the beauty and wisdom of His works. We shall only thirst because the "wells of salvation" are too deep to exhaust, because that Feast of Tabernacles will never come to an end. But our thirst will not check the stream of our melody. "The ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."¹

T. K. CHEYNE.

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING ON THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT OF SIN.

IV. THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

IN this paper I shall endeavour to reproduce the teaching of the Fourth Gospel about the fate of those who reject the salvation offered by Christ.

In John iii. 16 we meet again, as a description of that from which God gave Christ to save men, St. Paul's technical and favourite term, *destroyed* or *lost*: "That every one who believeth in Him may not be *destroyed*, but may

¹ Isa. xxxv. 10.

have eternal life." So chapter x. 28: "They shall not be *destroyed* for ever, nor shall any one seize them out of My hand." The active form of the same verb, in the sense of *lose*, occurs in chapter vi. 39: "All that which (as we should say, 'All those whom') Thou hast given Me, that I should not lose any of it (of them) but should raise it (them) up at the last day." The same active form, in the sense of *destroy*, is found in chapter x. 10, referring to a wolf destroying sheep. Similarly, and in complete harmony with the classic use of the word as expounded in my first paper, in chapter xi. 50 Caiaphas suggests that it is better "that one man die on behalf of the people, and not that the whole nation be destroyed." He refers evidently to the utter ruin which seemed to hang over the nation.

The same technical term, as a description of the unsaved, is found also in the Synoptic Gospels. So Matthew x. 28: "Who is able to *destroy* both soul and body in Gehenna." And chapter vii. 13: "Broad is the way which leadeth to *destruction*."

This use of the same Greek word in documents so dissimilar as the Synoptic Gospels, the Fourth Gospel, and the Epistles of Paul suggests very strongly that its Aramaic equivalent was actually used by Christ, and in the same sense. And we have already seen that the chief idea conveyed by the Greek word is utter ruin, without thought of what becomes of the ruined object. We therefore infer with confidence that this was the chief thought of the earliest Christians about the fate of the unsaved, and that this conception was derived from, or sanctioned by, Christ.

As in the Epistles of Paul the destruction awaiting sinners is called *death*, so in John vi. 50 salvation is described as escape from death: "That one may eat of it, and not die." Also chapter xi. 26: "He that believeth in Me shall not die, for ever." His body will descend into the

grave and become a prey of worms; but even bodily death will not be to him, as it is to others, utter ruin.

Already we have seen that in the Fourth Gospel and in the First Epistle of John the term *eternal life* is used in precisely the same sense as by St. Paul.

The phrase *anger of God* is used, in the sense familiar to us in the writings of St. Paul, in John iii. 36: "He that believeth not shall not see life, but the anger of God abideth upon him."

In John v. 25 Christ is reported to say, that there comes, and has already come, "an hour when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and they who hear will live." The words, "and now is," noting a resurrection already beginning, prove that Christ refers to those who are spiritually "dead," through sins, to the Gospel which is "the voice of the Son of God," and to the spiritual life given at once to those who accept the Gospel. In verses 28, 29 we have another resurrection, remarkable both for its similarity to, and its differences from, the earlier one. It is in the future; and therefore the words, "and now is," are absent. To mark the distinction from the spiritually dead just mentioned, Christ speaks in the second passage of "all that are in the graves." For, unlike the spiritual resurrection, the bodily resurrection will be universal. But, although in the great day "all in the graves will hear the voice" of Christ, not all "will live." For "resurrection of life" belongs only to those "who have done the good things." The rest "will go forth" from their graves to a "resurrection of judgment." This passage is instructive, as emphasizing the restriction, noted in my last paper, of the word *life* to the blessed dead. The wicked "shall not see life."

Another passage claims special attention. In John xii. 32 Christ makes the remarkable prediction, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all to Myself." At first

sight His words seem to mean that He will actually save all men. We inquire whether this appearance is confirmed by further research.

At once we notice that we have not here the emphatic phrase "all men," so conspicuous in Romans v. 12, 18, 1 Timothy ii. 1, 4; nor have we the universal phrase in John i. 9. This by no means implies, and perhaps does not even suggest, that the word *all* does not include the entire race. But it is worthy of note that the Evangelist does not use a definite term ready to his hand and manifestly embracing all men. He is satisfied, in his reproduction of our Saviour's meaning, with a somewhat looser expression.

At the same time it is not easy to see how the word *all* can have a scope less than all mankind. Certain foreigners have come, seeking an interview with Jesus. Their arrival greatly moved Him. In them He sees the forerunners of multitudes from all nations, who will soon reach out their hands to Him for salvation, the beginning of a world-wide empire. But between Himself and that vast dominion looms in fearful outline the shadow of His cross. Only through suffering can He enter His glory. The cross must be the stepping-stone to the kingdom. For the nations will come to Him only when drawn by mysterious influences proceeding from Himself, influences which cannot be exerted till He has borne the sins of the world and has entered the Holiest Place to make intercession for men. That He may attract others, Himself must "be lifted up."

These last words are explained by the Evangelist as referring to the approaching crucifixion. And such apparently is the reference of the same words in chapter iii. 14: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must needs the Son of man be lifted up, in order that every one that believeth in Him may have eternal life." But the words added here, "from the earth," suggest a further

reference. Christ's shameful elevation on the cross is the first step towards the throne. And from that throne He will send forth the Holy Spirit, the mysterious Agent of a Divine influence, which will draw the nations to Christ. Only by Himself rising can He raise them.

We now ask, In what sense will Christ draw all men to Himself? An answer to this question will be found in the writings of St. Paul.

In Romans ii. 4, the Apostle says that God is leading to repentance a man of impenitent heart, who is treasuring up for himself anger in a day of anger. Evidently he means that upon this impenitent man "the kindness of God" is exerting influences tending towards repentance. These influences are the strong hand of God drawing him towards better things. It is equally certain that these influences are utterly in vain. The man shows no signs of repentance. He is still on the way to destruction. Indeed the penalty awaiting him is day by day increasing. He is heaping up a treasure of anger to be in that day revealed. These influences, real though in this case through man's resistance utterly ineffectual, St. Paul describes by the categorical indicative, "God is leading thee to repentance." The same tense is used in the same sense in Galatians ii. 14. St. Peter by his bad example was unintentionally doing his utmost to force the Gentiles to adopt Jewish modes of life. This St. Paul describes by assuming that he is compelling them to do so: "why compellest thou?" etc. Yet we have no proof or presumption that the Gentiles yielded to this compulsion. But whatever they did, a real influence was brought to bear upon them. Hence the Greek indicative.

Similarly, in Acts vii. 26, Stephen says, in reference to the two contending Israelites in Egypt, that Moses was reconciling them or "bringing them to peace." But we have no hint that his efforts were in the least degree

successful. Yet here again we have a Greek indicative. Our translators (A.V. and R.V.) have felt the unsuitability of the English indicative, and have rendered in harmony with our mode of thought, "would have set them at one again."

It is now evident that in their modes of conceiving and expressing ineffectual influences, the Greek and English languages differ. But the Greek mode of thought is as correct as our own, and more graphic. The hand of God was actually upon the impenitent man, exerting an influence which was none the less real because it was resisted, and was therefore ineffectual. And the work in which Moses was engaged with the two Israelites was peace-making, although it brought no peace.

This Greek mode of speech, and St. Paul's teaching in Romans ii. 4, explain and limit the words of Christ in John xii. 32. For the Apostle's assertion must be true of all men. Otherwise the man of impenitent heart, who is evidently a pattern of all such, could not be blamed for not knowing that the kindness of God was leading him to repentance. Moreover, whatever God does to man He does through the agency of our Lord Jesus Christ, "through whom are all things."¹ In other words, the assertion implied in Romans ii. 4 is but a fulfilment of the prediction and purpose of Christ recorded in John xii. 32. And this purpose is suitably expressed in the language actually used in this last passage. For whatever the Greek present indicative asserts touching time present, and the Greek imperfect about some time past of which the writer is thinking, the future indicative asserts about time to come. They describe an action going on in present, past, or future time. If, as St. Paul's words imply, Christ had resolved to exert on all men an influence drawing them to Himself, He might correctly say, even though He foresaw that in

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6.

many cases, through man's resistance, this influence would be ineffectual, according to the usage of the Greek language, "I will draw all men to Myself." And there is in the context nothing whatever suggesting that He meant more than this. Consequently the passage before us in no way contradicts Philippians iii. 19, 2 Corinthians xi. 15, and other passages which imply an expectation that some men will be finally excluded from the glories of heaven.

Notice also that the teaching involved in John xii. 32 is a necessary complement to that of John vi. 44: "No one can come to Me, except the Father who hath sent Me draw him." For unless these influences, needful for salvation, were given to all men, the blame of each one's destruction would not lie at each one's own door.

One more passage bears directly on the matter before us. In John xv. 6 we read, from the lips of Christ, that the branch which does not continue in the vine is being cast into the fire, and is burning. Similarly in Matthew xiii. 30 and the parallel passages, in a picture of the final judgment, the wicked are compared to weeds bound together to be burnt. The same metaphor is traced in chapter iii. 10, 12 to the lips of the Baptist: "Every tree that beareth not good fruit is cut down and cast into fire; . . . the chaff He will burn up with unquenchable fire." It is also found in Hebrews vi. 8: "That which beareth thorns and thistles is reprobate and near to a curse, whose end is to be burnt." In all these passages the punishment of sin is compared to the destruction of vegetable matter by fire. And in the last passage this is said to be *the end* of the ungodly.

On the other hand, in 1 Peter i. 7, we have the metaphor of gold tested by fire. And in 1 Corinthians iii. 13 the judgment day is compared to a fire which will test every man's work.

Notice in these two classes of metaphors two distinct and opposite effects of fire. Faith is compared to gold which

is tested by fire, and thus proved to be genuine. But whenever fire is used as a symbol of the future punishment of sin, the wicked are compared to vegetable matter, to vine branches, or fruit trees, or chaff, or weeds, all which are destroyed utterly, and never purified or benefited, by fire. Throughout the New Testament there is no hint that the punishment of sin, under the image of fire, is remedial. It is always put in a form suggesting only destruction. For no destruction is more complete than that of vegetable matter by fire. And this metaphor is found, as we have seen, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and is attributed in each of the Four Gospels to Christ, and in each of the Synoptist Gospels to John the Baptist. It confirms strongly the teaching of Philippians iii. 19, 2 Corinthians xi. 15, Matthew xxvi. 24, Mark xiv. 21, that the punishment of the wicked is final.

Can we go a step farther, and say that the metaphor of destruction by fire teaches or suggests the annihilation of the wicked? Certainly the burning of vegetable matter comes as near to annihilation as does any natural phenomena. For the consumed branches and weeds become in a short time altogether invisible. May we therefore conclude that unconsciousness will be the ultimate fate of those who to the end refuse the offers of mercy?

It may be at once admitted that, if the annihilation of the wicked were as plainly taught elsewhere in the New Testament as is the finality of punishment in the passages quoted above, it would, like this last doctrine, be confirmed by the metaphor before us. Indeed this metaphor suggests search for such teaching. But the search is in vain. Outside the metaphor we are considering the New Testament contains, as this series of papers will prove, no hint whatever that the unsaved will ever cease to be. Now metaphor, unless supported by plain teaching, or at least by other metaphor agreeing with it only in the point in question, is

a most uncertain basis of doctrine. For all comparison fails somewhere. And, when doctrine is built simply on one metaphor, it is impossible to distinguish between the essential teaching, and the mere drapery, of the metaphor. If punishment be final, this is of itself sufficient to justify the use of the metaphor of destruction by fire; and therefore marks the limit of its doctrinal significance.

The Fourth Gospel has not materially increased our knowledge of the future punishment of sin; except that it has taught us that St. Paul's favourite mode of conceiving it, *viz.* as utter ruin, was equally familiar to the writer of the Fourth Gospel, whom I firmly believe to be the Apostle John, and was by him confidently attributed to Christ. We have found one passage which at first sight seemed to suggest that the salvation brought by Christ would actually reach and save all men. But this seeming contradiction to the plain teaching of St. Paul vanished before more careful research. In an opposite direction we found a metaphor suggesting the ultimate extinction of the lost. But more careful examination revealed only a strong confirmation of the finality of the future punishment of the impenitent.

In my next paper we shall discuss the more copious teaching of the Synoptist Gospels.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

DID ST. PAUL USE A SEMITIC GOSPEL?

THIS question is one of several which suggest themselves to the mind of the Bible student who wishes to investigate the extent of St. Paul's acquaintance with our present Gospels. The questions to which we refer may be arranged thus :

I. To what extent was St. Paul familiar with the *facts* of our Saviour's earthly life?

II. Was he acquainted with the *discourses* of the Saviour?

III. Is there any evidence that these discourses existed in St. Paul's day in a written form?

IV. Are there any criteria which will enable us to decide in what language these evangelic discourses were originally written; or, if not written, orally propagated?

I. The first of these questions has often been discussed. Almost every one who loves his Bible has delighted to trace the coincidences between the Epistles and the Gospels, and, by an effort of constructiveness, to realize the glorious conception which St. Paul had formed of the person of our Lord Jesus. For the most part however this subject has had a literary, or at most a theologic, interest; but, of late years, it has acquired an *evidential* value, and has come to be recognised as one of the bulwarks of our faith against a very subtle form of unbelief. When the German mythical school ventured to assert that the Gospels in their present form were not composed till far on in the second century; that the gospel miracles are purely legendary; that the grand central miracle, the resurrection, was a subjective illusion; and that almost the only portions of the New Testament which are authentic are the four great Epistles of St. Paul, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians: then the attention of Christian apologists was

turned as never before to these four Epistles; and it was triumphantly shown that the resurrection, so far from being a legend, was accepted as a historic fact within a very few years of the death of Jesus, and that the belief in the divinity of the Saviour's person, so far from being a gradual apotheosis, or an accretion of later ages, was in all its essential respects as clearly accepted and taught by the Apostle Paul, twenty or twenty-five years after the death of Jesus, as in any of the evangelic records.

II. The second question, To what extent was St. Paul acquainted with the discourses of our Lord? has not attracted so much attention as the foregoing. To the theologian, indeed, it is not so important; but to the apologist it is almost of equal importance, as confirming the historicity of the Gospel narratives, and helping to establish the identity of the two pictures of the historic Jesus, in the Gospels and in the Pauline Epistles. It must be admitted however, that research has not, in this field, met as yet with a bounteous harvest. Dr. Westcott indeed affirms that "scarcely any clear references to the recorded discourses of the Lord are contained in the Epistles"; but this is much too despondent a view of the situation, for there are certainly *six well established cases* in which the Apostle Paul directly or indirectly quotes from words of the Lord Jesus which are contained in our present Gospels. (1) In 1 Corinthians vii. 10, where the apostle forbids divorce, and uses the words, "I give charge, yet not I, but the Lord," it is evident that he is quoting the words of the Lord Jesus which have come down to us in Matthew v. 31, 32, and Luke xvi. 18. (2) In the account of the last supper given in 1 Corinthians xi., we notice a coincidence almost verbatim with the words of Luke xxii. 19, 20. (3) In 1 Thessalonians iv. and v. St. Paul, in his description of the second advent, claims to be speaking "in the language of the Lord"

Himself, *ἐν λόγῳ Κυρίου*; and in many respects, as we shall show, the account given by the apostle coincides both factually and verbally with our Lord's eschatological discourse as recorded in Luke xxi. (4) The exhortations in Romans xiv. 14-21 agree in substance, but not in precise words, with several utterances in the Sermon on the Mount. (5) When, in Romans xiii. 7, the apostle says, "Render therefore to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute," etc., it is difficult to avoid the thought that St. Paul had heard of the remarkable answer which our Lord gave to the Herodians: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." (6) When, in 1 Timothy v. 18, St. Paul quotes as "Scripture" the words, "The labourer is worthy of his hire," it is exceedingly probable that he alludes to the words of Jesus which we now possess in Luke x. 7.

But perhaps the most striking proof of St. Paul's familiarity with the words of Jesus is to be found in 1 Corinthians vii. 12 and 25, where the apostle undertakes the proverbially difficult task of "establishing a negative." When St. Paul says, "To the rest speak I, *not* the Lord," and, "Concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, but give my own judgment," it is clear that he not only knew what our Lord had said, but knew what He had *not* said. He knew that our Lord had made no public utterance as to what a married Christian should do who had an unbelieving partner, and that in the course of our Lord's ministry the case of "virgins" had not come before Him; and precisely in accordance with this, our present Gospels, we need not say, are totally silent on both subjects.

III. Our third question, Is there any evidence that our Lord's discourses existed in St. Paul's day in a written form? is often answered in the negative: the reason assigned being that our present Gospels were not written

when St. Paul wrote his Epistles, unless it be those which he wrote during his imprisonment. This reason is however quite inconclusive, as may be seen from a thoughtful perusal of the first few verses of the Gospel of St. Luke. This proœmium, along with the rest of the Gospel, was written, in all probability, during the two years in which St. Paul was imprisoned at Cæsarea, A.D. 58-60. At that time, St. Luke says that *many* had "undertaken to draw up a narrative as to the matters which had been fully established" among the Christians; and continues: "It seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write them in consecutive order." From this important passage it may fairly be inferred, that there were in existence written accounts of our Lord's words and deeds before St. Luke's Gospel was penned; that these accounts were fragmentary, not arranged into one complete whole; and that the task which St. Luke set himself was chiefly that of a compiler, arranging in consecutive order (*καθεξῆς*) the fragmentary accounts of our Lord's words and deeds which had been sacredly committed to writing by those "who were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." We conclude then, that it is highly probable that St. Paul had in his possession some of these primitive evangelic fragments, which were used by St. Luke, and used also, we may add, by St. Matthew and St. Mark in the compilation of our present Gospels.

IV. We come now to the fourth question: In what language were these primitive evangelic fragments written? It has usually been taken for granted that they would be written in Greek. But the difficulties connected with this assumption are many and serious. The minute differences among the synoptists can hardly have arisen from capricious alterations introduced by each in copying from the same Greek exemplar. So improbable has this been felt

to be, that very many modern scholars, with Bishop Westcott at their head, have discarded the theory of a written *protevangelium* altogether, and prefer to explain the divergences in the synoptic Gospels by the theory of slightly variant *oral traditions*. The design of this paper is to re-invite the attention of scholars to the theory of *protevangelic fragments*, written by eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, written however not in Greek, but in the language of Palestine. And the question which the writer wishes to raise, and to which he would here attempt a partial solution, is this: *Are the differences in the three synoptic Gospels explicable to any considerable extent by the assumption that they are variant translations of a common Hebrew or Aramaic original?* The limits of this article will not allow us to pursue this interesting inquiry further than to attempt an answer to the question which stands at the head of the paper: *Was St. Paul acquainted with a Semitic Gospel?*

Our field of investigation is of course very limited. We have only been able to produce *six* cases which show verbal coincidences between the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles; but it must be admitted, as encouraging to the theory which we undertake to defend, that in *three* of the six instances the variation between St. Paul and the evangelist is capable of explanation on the hypothesis that they give a variant translation of a common original, written in the language of Palestine.

The first case which we would examine is the coincidence between 1 Thessalonians v. 1-8 and the discourse of our Lord foretelling His second advent, which is recorded in the three synoptical Gospels, and was delivered just before His passion. There are very few passages in the Gospels in which we have so many verbal coincidences in the three synoptists as in the discourse just referred to. St. Matthew and St. Mark agree almost word for word ;

while St. Luke agrees with them in the main, but furnishes several additamenta, not found in the others. The most important of these portions is Luke xxi. 34-36, which is very properly printed by our Revisers as a separate paragraph. Now it is precisely this small section, found among the synoptists only in Luke, that presents such close affinities with 1 Thessalonians v. 1-8. The features of resemblance come out best by exhibiting the two passages in parallel columns:

Luke xxi. 34-36.

But take heed to yourselves, lest your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life,

And lest that day come on you (*ἐπιστῇ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*) suddenly (*αἰφνιδίως*)

As a snare (*ὥς παγίς*):

For so it shall come upon all who dwell upon the face of all the earth. Watch therefore at every season, . . .

That ye may be able to escape (*ἐκφυγεῖν*) all these things which are coming to pass,

And to stand before the Son of man.

1 Thessalonians v.

Let us watch and be sober; for they that be drunken are drunken in the night. But let us who are of the day be sober.

Sudden (*αἰφνιδίως*) destruction cometh on them (*αὐτοῖς ἐπίσταιται*),

As travail (*ὥσπερ ἡ ὥδιν*) upon a woman with child.

[Let us not sleep, as do *the rest*, but let us watch.]

And they (*i.e.* the rest) shall in no wise escape (*οὐ μὴ ἐκφύγωσι*).

The points of coincidence are thus self-evident, with perhaps one exception; and it is on this I wish to fix attention. St. Luke says *ὥς παγίς*, "as a snare." St. Paul, *ὥσπερ ἡ ὥδιν*, "as travail." Now on the theory that Christ spoke Greek, and that His words were first of all written in Greek, this and similar discrepancies are simply inexplicable. But admit that the evangelic fragment in possession of both authors was written in Hebrew—or, if this be asking too much, admit that both were acquainted with

an oral tradition perpetuated in Hebrew or in Palestinian Aramaic—and the difficulty disappears. The Hebrew word for “snare” is חֶבֶל, for “travail” חֶבֶל. Thus the consonants are identical: and they are all that was written in those days, for Hebrew vowels are a comparatively modern invention. Assume then that the original fragment written by one who heard the Saviour speak was in the language of Palestine, and that it contained the word כַּחבֶּל, which *might* mean *either* “as a snare,” *or*, “as travail,” that St. Luke translated it in the former way and St. Paul in the latter, and the discrepancy is at once explained.

As to which of the two more accurately conveys the thought of the Saviour, there can be no hesitancy in deciding in favour of the apostle. It was a matter of general belief among the Jews, being based on Daniel's prophecy of the malignant “little horn,” that immediately before the coming of the Christ in His glory there would be a terrible conflict between the powers of good and evil, somewhat akin to that described by St. Paul in 2 Thessalonians ii. This dread conflict was popularly known as חֶבֶלִי מְשִׁיחַ, “the birth-pangs of the Messiah,” or חֶבֶלִי שֶׁל עוֹלָם, “the birth-pangs of the æon.” To this interpretation of Daniel's prophecy our Lord gave His sanction when He said, as is recorded Matthew xxiv. 8, Mark xiii. 8, *Tauta ἀρχὴ ὧδωών*, which must be translated (the absence of both articles being, as usual, equivalent to the presence of both), “These things are the beginning of the birth-pangs.” No explanation of this singular expression was given; none was needed. The disciples were quite familiar with the popular anticipation; and so was the quondam rabbi, “Paul the Apostle.” He knew what was alluded to in the word כַּחבֶּל, but did not leave the statement so bare as in our Gospels, amplifying it for his Gentile readers to the phrase ὥσπερ ἡ ὥδιν τῇ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσῃ; whereas St. Luke, the Gentile physician, who would seem to have been unfamiliar with the

significant term by which the Jews expressed the conflicts which should precede the Messianic glory, translated the כְּתוּבָה of his evangelic fragment by the incomparably feebler word *ὡς παγίς*.

Our next illustration shall be the one which stands sixth in our list of verbal coincidences between the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. In 1 Timothy v. 18 we read: "For the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his hire." This last clause agrees verbatim with Luke x. 7, and is found in the injunctions given by our Lord to the twelve apostles when He sent them forth to evangelize the cities of Judæa, and thus from our passage in Timothy two inferences may certainly be drawn:

1. That at the time when 1 Timothy was written, the words of Christ were regarded as, at least, of the same authority as the Old Testament; and
2. That the discourses of Jesus at *that* time had been committed to writing, otherwise the word "Scripture" would be inappropriate.

The words of Luke x. 7 occur in the parallel passage, Matthew x. 10; with one variation however. St. Luke says, *ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ*, "For the labourer is worthy of his *hire*"; but St. Matthew says, "For the labourer is worthy of his *food*" (*τῆς τροφῆς*). It may be said that the difference is insignificant, and that the meaning is the same in both cases; but it is far more satisfactory to be able to point to a Hebrew word as probably used by the Saviour, which has both the meanings of St. Luke and St. Matthew. Such a word we have in מַאֲכָל; which seems to have the same natural history as the words *viaticum* and *ὀψώνιον*; that is to say, means (1) *food*, or a relish of fish or game to be eaten with bread; and then (2) *wages*, in food or in money. We believe therefore that our Saviour used the word מַאֲכָל, and that this word was

translated by St. Matthew τῆς τροφῆς and by St. Luke τοῦ μισθοῦ.

In passing, we may allude to a discrepancy between St. Matthew and St. Mark which occurs in their account of our Lord's words in sending forth the twelve apostles, and which is elucidated by our theory. St. Matthew gives the words of the Saviour thus: "Provide no gold, nor silver, . . . nor shoes, *nor* a staff" (μηδὲ ῥάβδον). St. Mark's words are: "He charged them that they should carry nothing for the journey, *except* a staff" (εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον—Mark vi. 7). Now if we retranslate these variant words into the language of Palestine in Christ's day we obtain for "*nor*" נָלִי, for "*except*" נָלֵן—a corruption of דָּן and נָלִי, and thus equivalent to εἰ μὴ. Of course both words would be written without vowels at that time; so that the misreading, through illegibility or some other cause, of a single letter explains the difference.

Our last example shall be drawn from the description given by St. Luke and St. Paul of the last supper. In the fourfold account of this solemn event, it is well known that, in recording the words of the Saviour, St. Luke and St. Paul agree almost word for word; and, following a slightly variant tradition, there is a similar resemblance between St. Matthew and St. Mark. But in the midst of many verbal coincidences in the two first-named authors, we come upon a discrepancy almost startling, and which seems to admit of no satisfactory solution save the one advocated in this paper. The passages referred to are Luke xxii. 19 and 1 Corinthians xi. 24.

St. Luke says:

"This is My body, which is *given* for you:
τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον."

St. Paul says:

"τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλάμενον:
This is My body, which is *broken* for you."

On the assumption that both these words are *translations*, and not the words literally used by the Saviour, what words do they probably represent in the language used by our Lord? If, with the late Dr. Delitzsch, we assume that the language spoken by our Lord was Neo-Hebraic, then for τὸ διδόμενον, the most natural equivalent is הַנִּתֵּן (Niphal participle of נָתַן with article). This is the word given by Dr. Delitzsch in his Hebrew New Testament. For τὸ κλάμενον the renowned Semitic scholar gives הַנִּבְצָע (Niphal participle of בָּצַע). The present writer would however, with the utmost deference, submit whether (apart altogether from the exigences of the present theory) a more suitable word is not to be found in הַנִּתְחַת (Niphal participle of נָתַח) or הַנִּתְחַת (passive participle Kal).¹ The word בָּצַע does, it is true, in biblical Hebrew mean to "cut in pieces," "break," "wound"; and once in the Targum of Onkelos (Leviticus ii. 6) it is used of breaking the cake of the "minchat," but it is never used of sacrifice. Whereas נָתַח is the *technical Levitic term* for the cutting in pieces of a victim before it was laid upon the altar. For instance, Exodus xxix. 17, "Thou shalt cut-in-pieces (תִּנְתַּח) the ram, and wash its inwards, and its legs: and thou shalt burn the whole ram upon the altar." [Read also Lev. i. 6, 12; vii. 20; 1 Kings xviii. 23, 33.] Now at the last supper, as our Lord was looking forward to His death, He most certainly considered that He was about to offer Himself as a sacrifice. His blood was about to be "shed for the remission of sins"; and, seeing in the broken pieces of the bread an emblem of His body, lying, as it were, in pieces (נִתְחַת) upon the altar of atonement, He says, "This is My body, which is sacrificially-broken for you."

We venture therefore to maintain that if our Lord spoke

¹ The latter of these may be preferred by some, because the Niphal of this verb is not found in extant literature, whereas the occurrence of the noun נִתְחַת, "a piece" or "section," shows that the Kal was in use.

Ἐβραϊστί, the word which He would use to show the comparison between the broken bread lying on the platter and His body lying on the altar of sacrifice was not עֲנַבִּי, but חֵטְא. Of course we are quite aware that the Revised Version, in its unfaltering allegiance to the first readings of A B C N, omits the word κλάμενον altogether, and gives us the bald reading, "This is My body, *which is for you*." But this is one of the cases in which, though MS. authority may silence, it cannot convince. No one whose critical faculty is not benumbed by years of mute submissiveness to diplomatic evidence, can look on these two lines,

τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον,
τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, . . .

without feeling certain that a word has gone from the second line which once stood there. Many scholars of repute adopt this view. Among the Germans one may cite De Wette and Hofmann, and among our own divines Dr. T. C. Edwards and Dr. Maclaren. The reasons given by Dr. Edwards in his most excellent *Commentary on First Corinthians*, for the retention of the word κλάμενον seem to us thoroughly conclusive. They are three. (1) The expression: "This is My body, *which is for you*," τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, is very harsh, perhaps unexampled. (2) Breaking the body was essential to the sacrifice. (3) Its omission by the copyists may be accounted for, on the supposition that they suspected a contradiction between this passage and John xix. 36: "A bone of Him shall not be broken." May we be acquitted of a *circulus in probando* if we give, as a fourth reason for the retention of the word κλάμενον, that by assuming, in accordance with the testimony of early Church Fathers, that the Gospel was originally written in the language of Palestine, we are able to explain the occurrence of τὸ διδόμενον in St. Luke's Gospel? We think that here again St. Paul has preserved the word literally used by our

Lord; but, as the incident was known to St. Luke only in a Hebrew exemplar, he mistook or misread the rare word הַנְּתִן for הַנְּתִן.

As to the vexed question, What *was* the language spoken by Christ? and the similar, or perhaps identical, question, In what language were the protevangelic fragments written? we do not here and now pronounce an opinion. We purposely chose the word "Semitic" to avoid such a pronouncement. אֱלֵא is a Chaldee or Aramaic word. נִתָּן, on the other hand, is a Hebrew word, and so is צִדְדָּה. But a study of the literature nearest the times of Christ convinces one that the language spoken was a sort of amalgam—very composite in its character. The Chaldee Targum contains numbers of Hebrew words; and therefore from the examination of the narrow area of instances which have come under our notice, it would be very hazardous to arrive at a decision. It is probable that the Targum of Onkelos and the Chaldee text of Tobit as edited by Mr. Neubauer are our closest surviving representatives of the Urevangelium. At all events, if the hypothesis of this paper has been established, the clue for the solution of this vexed question is in our hands, and that dialect which best explains the verbal discrepancies in the synoptists must be voted the original one in which the Gospel was first written.

J. T. MARSHALL.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND OUR LORD'S AUTHORITY.

THE controversies upon the age and authorship of some books of the Old Testament which now engage the Church are sufficiently momentous in themselves. But they assume a form unspeakably more important when they are regarded in the light of our Lord's authority. We find men of high repute accused of disloyalty to Him because they disbelieve the critical correctness of the current traditions of His time on these subjects, to which His words give expression. And those who stake His authority against the conclusions of modern criticism suffer the accusation, scarcely less awful, of dismissing to infidelity many in the present, and possibly multitudes in the future, who in their own desire and affection are His dutiful followers.

As is usual in such cases compromises are suggested. We are urged to accept the results of critical inquiry without considering the authority of our Saviour as involved in them. But even if we ourselves feel it possible to avoid connecting Him with such investigations, so many Christians among our best and ablest have declared themselves unable to do so, that it is plain the subject must be faced. In other quarters we are recommended to suspend our judgment, and remember that destructive criticism on the Old Testament has not yet proved its points. And this is doubtless true. Christians are not only at liberty to remember, but in duty bound to remember that other critical judgments advanced with equal confidence have before now been reversed. As to the Old Testament itself therefore, we are bound to wait for more light.

But it is a different matter to bid us wait one moment more than is necessary in determining what our Lord's responsibilities on the subject are. Nothing except the absence of materials for decision could excuse us in putting that point by. It is not fair to critics to bid them pursue their investigations under a suspicion of impiety, nor fair to the body of the faithful to bid them ascribe to their Master a provisional infallibility. More than all, it is not fair to Him to avoid the subject. The time for considering whether a friend is responsible for a proposition is the time when any person of credit seriously maintains that he is so. If we wait until the proposition is proved false, we shall cast inevitable doubt upon our *ex post facto* attempts to clear him of connexion with it. And many have felt this in the present question, and, refusing to postpone an inquiry which concerns their Lord, have considered His expressions regarding the Old Testament in their necessary relation to His nature and person, and have come to varying conclusions. We do not know whether any one has yet attempted to treat the same inquiry in connexion with a class of facts which come still better within our own sphere; namely, His work for man.

The saving work of Christ has been universally thought to consist, firstly, in what He has done for us; secondly, in the example He sets us. S. Peter sums up the Gospel when he says that Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example.

It might seem that in this classification His teaching is omitted. Under which head shall we find room for that oral instruction which fills so large a part in our gospels, and makes so important an element of our Christianity, and in which are contained the allusions to the Old Testament which are now under review? They form part of His example, for they show us His mind and how to follow Him. They are the words which prove that "guile was not

found in His mouth." At the time when the apostolic epistles in which the doctrine of Christianity is drawn out were written, the biographies of Christ and the records of His utterances, which we now read in the gospels, were current, written or unwritten, throughout the Church, and made the staple of the instruction which, like Theophilus, every convert received. They formed the picture of the Saviour which was manifestly set forth as a pattern to the Church, and to which the writers of the other New Testament books so often refer when they bid Christians be followers of the Lord, or run with patience the race set before them, looking unto Jesus.

Teaching and example are united even in the work of inferior masters. A lecturer, even upon the most abstract sciences, is effective in proportion as he enables his hearers to feel how the thing he speaks of was done or learnt by him, how his mind grasps it, and wherein its interest for him lies. But when it is with moral or spiritual truth that our teacher concerns himself, the prime requisite is that he should put his mind on our level, and lift us up to his. Every true teacher must indeed be master of his subject, but not so master as to regard it merely from above. He must sympathise with the condition of his learners by a vivid remembrance of the time when he was a learner himself. Now above all teachers that ever taught, the Lord proclaims a perfect sympathy between Himself and His disciples. It is a community of mind, not merely in metaphor, but in reality. We hear of Christians having the mind of Christ, of Christ living in them, and many other expressions, which labour to convey the idea of a mental and spiritual union far beyond those which exist between the most beloved of other instructors and the pupils whom he guides. And in order to maintain the place of Christ as our teacher in that sense which peculiarly belongs to His saving work, we must be careful to assert,

not merely His mastery of what He teaches us, but also the resemblance which exists between His own ways of knowing and the knowledge He imparts to us. We had as well deny the correctness of His knowledge as deny that it is human. We must feel that He understands all He would have us know with that kind of understanding which issues from experience and implies sympathy.

In one great department of the Lord's teaching these principles are everywhere recognised as essential. In all which concerns the great moral conflict of man with evil, it is quite plain that Christ teaches us as one who has Himself learnt. We must misread the whole gospel history, as well as the inspired comment of the epistles upon it, if we fail to see how real was His strife with evil from the cradle to the cross. He helps us, not merely as a deliverer on whose work we may securely rest, nor as an instructor supremely skilled in the knowledge of sin and virtue, but as one who is partaker of our experience, and feels with us by reason of community in nature and in life. We read the record of this in the gospels, and the Epistle to the Hebrews draws the inference, "We have not a high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." These words do not merely state a doctrine. They appeal to the remembrance of the human history of the Lord, which lived in the Church by the tradition on which her own life was founded, and of which many who had seen it actually existed to bear witness. And to introduce into our exposition of these words anything which deducts from their simple truth and reality—any doctrinal consideration which casts doubt upon the genuine truth of His sympathy with us, or rests it upon any other basis than that of His human experience—is to separate ourselves completely from the Christianity of the primitive Church.

We must not think of His Divine nature as in any way

hindering the complete human reality of His conflict with sin, but, on the contrary, as assuring us of it. The works of God are perfect, and when we are told that He emptied Himself of His glory, and took on Him the likeness of man, we must beware of failing to acknowledge the truth of the Divine act. Reverence to God is shown, not by refusing to believe the literal meaning of the words, but by accepting it. Christ could not have been so truly the Son of man had He not been the Son of God. And when we see Him contending with evil in all its forms according to the sad and common lot of man, our whole faith in His Deity ought to go in the direction of making us believe that the conflict was as real as it seemed to be. Whenever saints and holy men say strong things about their fight with sin, there are always some of their admirers who think to pay them a compliment by refusing to credit all their testimony about themselves. But the saints care little for such flattery, and prefer that kind of admiration which believes that they knew themselves, for good and evil, better than strangers can do. It is to be feared that some believers in the King of saints Himself make the mistake of not quite taking Him at His word in respect of the deadly reality of His fight with evil. An error indeed: the fight was the truer and more human the more truly He was God.

We must take notice that the conflict with evil in the Lord's life and death is represented to us as a process having its gradual and increasing effects; upon Himself in growing strength as well as upon the malignant powers with which He contends, in their deepening darkness. This is the condition of the human conflict. Man as he proceeds in it becomes more confident in the Divine strength, and more submissive to the decree which imposes the trial upon him, as the best and kindest ordinance for him after all. We might perhaps have doubted, if we had been left to argue from the doctrine of the Lord's nature,

whether any of this internal progress could present itself in Him. While we should have known, of course, that it was only gradually that evil and the spirit of evil could yield to Him, we might have thought that the principle of good which secured the victory to Him would have been exactly the same in amount and power at the first as at the last. How, we might have said, could it be otherwise on the supposition of a *communicatio idiomatum*, a sharing, in the constitution of His Person, of the powers of His Deity with His humanity? Nevertheless we should have been wrong. The living picture of struggle, trouble, and conquest which the gospel history unfolds is expounded in Hebrews v. 8, 9 to mean that, though He were a Son, yet learnt He obedience by the things which He suffered, and having been made perfect, became unto all them that obey Him the author of eternal salvation. So that the effect which the union with Deity had on His humanity was not to abolish or in any way to change the relations to evil which are inherent in the conditions of man's estate, but to make Him a perfect model of the behaviour proper to man, when the very utmost of suffering and temptation which those relations to evil can produce are exhausted against him.

It is manifest that this view of the moral history of the Lord may be set in a perplexing light. If He learned obedience by the things which He suffered, must not the earlier stages of the process be stages of imperfect obedience? It is true that what He learned was not the principle of obedience, which in Him was perfect from the first, but the habit of obedience—the application of the principle to the circumstances of life. Yet even on this understanding it does not seem possible to deny that something was learnt by Him which was wanting at the first. As the application of a mathematical axiom to practical uses is a process which involves as much advance, and is as charac-

teristic of human progress from imperfection towards perfection in knowledge, as the first acquisition of the axiom itself, so the necessity under which we live in our moral progress of learning how to apply our moral principles and use our moral capacities is as characteristic of our limitation as is the deficiency of our principles themselves. If we were to apply to the moral life of our Lord the conception that His humanity partakes the perfection of His Deity, we should expect that perfect practical morality and the habit of virtue in all its applications to life would be possessed by Him by nature, not only in germ, but in development. Yet the verse in Hebrews ascribes His possession of it, not to His nature alone, but also to the things which He suffered.

This then is the conception of the Lord's moral life which is forced on us in the desire to realize and use His saving work. He is our priest, our sacrifice, and our example; and the very idea of sacrifice, priesthood, and example requires a union between Him and those for whom He offers and for whom He suffers. Forasmuch as they are partakers of flesh and blood, He also took part in the same; since no example can be effective which is set by those whose nature and circumstances separate them from those who are called to follow.

Now when this is the case in respect of the moral life of the Lord, the question arises whether there is any similar relation between Him and ourselves in the intellectual life. His conquest of sin and His acquisition of obedience are just what ours ought to be, though, alas! too different from what they are. Is His conquest of error and His acquisition of truth of so wholly different a nature that, while in the moral life He is not ashamed to call us brethren, in the intellectual He is not our brother, but something infinitely above us? It is hard to maintain such a theory. In the first place, it makes a division in the constitution of the

Lord's humanity, so that part of it is less human than the rest. In the second place, the faculties thus differently dealt with are practically so united, that it is impossible to sever them except in abstract theory. An exercise of the intellect enters into every movement of the conscience. The condition of facts upon which conscience works is intellectually apprehended, and so are the positive ends which morality urges us to seek, and which conscience invests with a Divine sanction; while, on the other hand, there is no exercise of the intellect which is not subject to the sentence of conscience. We cannot therefore conceive of a progress in the moral part of the nature, accompanied by an intellectual condition which from the first is absolutely perfect. Accordingly we are told that the Lord increased in wisdom, and the verse in Hebrews uses a word which plainly implies that His intellect was engaged in His moral progress: He "learned" obedience.

And when we consider His work as a pattern for men, it seems impossible to suppose that His knowledge was so different from His goodness as to have in it no tinge of the difficulty and struggle which His moral life involved. For in man the strivings of the mind, its errors, victories, and disasters, form a large part of conscious life, and one in which help and sympathy are as urgently needed as in the sphere of morality. The search for truth, and the repugnance and misery under doubt are more characteristic of some ages of Christianity than of others. But they are always present, and in our own time they assume vast proportions. So that if we tried to regard our Saviour as merely a teacher of truth, whose own knowledge came to Him without struggle by the make of His nature, He would certainly be a very different, and a far less attractive Saviour to us than He was to those ages which knew little of doubt, but much of sin; for to them He was, not only the teacher of righteousness, but also the high priest that could be

touched with the feeling of their infirmities, and was in all points tempted like as they were. But here reverence for the Lord as a teacher of Divine truth comes in to check our ascription to Him of our intellectual conditions, and seems to forbid our imagining Him struggling with error in the same way in which the gospels so plainly show Him to us as struggling with temptation. Still the parallel seems plain, and the words of the New Testament clear. In whatever sense we think of the Lord as saving us from our sins, as one who Himself knows by experience what our contest is, in the same sense must we think of Him as helping our efforts after truth, as one who has Himself struggled for it, and knows both the blessing which difficulty brings to the truth-seeker, and the temptation it involves—knows where he should be left to himself, and where helped or corrected lest he be driven to despair or betrayed into self-confidence.

Thousands of parents, in those days of early mental training which of all the days of life are the most difficult and important in the acquisition of truth, have impressed upon their children the example of the Child Jesus, who increased in wisdom. Is this example real and genuine? Shall we think that, while He seemed to grow in wisdom, He was but gradually producing stores which were perfect from the first? Or shall we frame the still more incongruous theory, that His example of intellectual growth is but for childhood, and ceases to apply in the more awful and painful struggles of the mature man?

But then it may be said, that what in the intellectual sphere corresponds to sin in the moral is error. And as the Lord's moral life was confessedly perfect, so must His intellectual illumination be perfect also.

But what do we mean when we say that the Lord's moral life was perfect? Do we mean that He gives a perfect example of conduct in every situation in which a

human being can be placed? Not so. Such a thought may be natural, as we see from the attempts in the legends of pretended saviours of men to represent them as having gone through in their own persons the chief experiences of human life: as beggar and prince, husband and ascetic. But there is no such element in the gospel history. Its absence is no small proof of the reality and truth of its picture of Christ. The experiences of life which the Lord went through were of narrow limits, and multitudes of moral problems occur every day to His followers which never presented themselves to Him. S. Paul thinks it no harm to say that he fills up in his own person that which is lacking of the sufferings of Christ; because, in point of volume and contents, the sufferings of Christ represent only a small part of those incident to man. But in point of quality His morality is supreme; and it is in that view that His sufferings afford a perfect and sufficient example to all men under all conditions.

By parity of reason, what we must ascribe to the Lord in the matters of intellect is, not a knowledge perfect in point of volume and contents, but a perfect intellectual attitude, according to the general conditions of humanity, towards His whole environment, spiritual and sensible. It is acknowledged in mental science that it does not belong to the human intellect in its ideal condition to create its own materials, but to use them in a perfect manner as they are brought in from its surroundings. Its perfect attitude is not merely consistent with the limitations in knowledge which the character of man's state involves, but actually requires them. For right behaviour in regard to what we do not yet know, and to what as men we cannot know, are as essential requirements of our intellectual condition as right use of the knowledge we have. It is in the former sphere that we specially need help, and that example is most useful to us. In science the inquirers who work in

advanced conditions of their respective subjects astonish us with the extent of their knowledge, and pour forth their discoveries in quick succession for the benefit of our lives ; but the men whom these scientific conquerors themselves regard as their best examples and the organizers of their victories are those who have laboured in elementary stages of science, and whose intellects have been exercised rather upon the immensity of the undiscovered than upon the limited area of the known. Much more, the intellectual High Priest of humanity must not be omniscient without labour and conquest.

The perfect intellectual attitude is a different thing from what we call talent ; and we should no more think of asking in what measure the latter quality belonged to the Lord, than of raising a question as to the amount of His bodily strength.

What attitude do we suppose our Lord to hold towards the great discoveries in the world of nature which the latter times have revealed—towards the astronomy, the geology, the physics of the present ? Are we to think of Him as one who knew all that we know and that greater region which is still unknown, but kept it all secret from men because it was not His Father's will that what man's intellect can discover should be made known to him by revelation ? If any one thinks himself bound to maintain such a belief, it cannot be disproved ; but the intercourse of our Lord with men, and His manner of speech among them, give no hint of any such thing. It seems inconsistent with the generous freedom wherewith He makes them partakers of the very best He has to give : " All things that I have heard of My Father I have made known unto you." We know that we must put *some* limits to the participation of the Divine attributes by our Saviour on earth. No one can ascribe to Him omnipresence, omnipotence, and omniscience all at once and all completely. And the very

slightest abatement from any attribute establishes the principle of limitation for the whole. Now when this principle is once established, what reason is there for imagining Him endowed with knowledge which would have been useless for His blessed work, and which He gives no sign whatever of possessing? Would not reason suggest to us that, as it is the ordained condition of humanity that, as surely as man is born in time and place, he must be content with the knowledge of his time and place, so our Lord, when He took humanity on Him in local and temporal conditions, took also the limits of natural knowledge which belonged to the condition He assumed? Christians should remember that the faith of the Church is given, not to a theophany, but an incarnation.

But then, it will be said, the knowledge now in question is not natural knowledge; it is religious. You cannot make such a distinction. The knowledge which we call natural has its religious aspect, and there is a great deal of the knowledge which we call religious which is in all respects subject to the same conditions with the natural, as purely matter of intellect and decisively assigned by God's ordinance to the patient search of the mind of man as the appointed instrument of its acquisition and increase. We have no right to take a certain kind of knowledge out of the category of science and place it in the category of religion, just because we ourselves connect it closely with our religion. And if there be anything which Christians should have learnt from the history of religion, it is the uselessness of attempting to set arbitrary limits to the work of the intellect. It has its limits, and these can be shown by its own discovery of its own impotence. But the date and authorship of the books of the Bible are not among the subjects which the intellect will ever be forced to recognise as beyond its sphere.

The intellect in this exercise, as in every other, requires

training, chastening, and example: practical helps which are far more important to it than the prescription of correct theories. Accordingly, if the Lord's attitude towards nature is, in its love, its reverence, and its submission to fact and law, such an example to the searcher into nature as makes the amount of His own natural knowledge very unimportant in comparison, so His treatment of the Bible seems to be a perfect example of its use in every stage of critical knowledge. He treats the holy book with reverence, yet with freedom. He discerns the spiritual point of every passage. He knows what in it is eternal truth, and what was written because of the hardness of heart of the generation to whom it came. He proclaims that man is greater than any ordinances made for man, and that the Son of man is Lord over them. This is His example for Bible readers: infinitely more important and more fruitful than it would have been for Him to anticipate the proper work of critical science.

If indeed the modern criticism of the Old Testament was so completely destructive as to recognise no mark of the Divine hand in its production, and to deprive it of its position as a record of ascertained religious truth, we might well consider such criticism as touching a central point of the Lord's teaching. It would assail His right to quote the Old Testament for religious purposes. But the critics deny that they entertain any such views; and it is not fair upon our part to assume that their profession is untrue. They do not shut their eyes to those magnificent spiritual revelations, independent of all questions of date or authorship, which have made the Bible the food of religious souls. We all recognise a human element in the Bible. The part which earthly circumstance and human will have so evidently played in its production appears to us one of the strongest proofs that the Divine power has been constantly exerted in order to evolve from humanity results

which humanity was naturally so unfitted to produce. We must not suppose that this constraint to acknowledge Divine inspiration, through inability to account otherwise for all the phenomena of a book which has so much that is human, ceases to operate just at that point where we ourselves think the human to stop and the Divine to begin. It ill becomes us to say that whoever recognises more of the human in the Bible than we do recognises nothing but the human, or that a particular date and authorship is indissolubly connected, either with the inspiration of a passage, or with our Lord's right to quote it as inspired.

We cannot wonder however that the very supposition that He quoted a Scripture book under an incorrect name should be a shock to many good people. Even if they grant that the perfection of His humanity involved His acceptance of the intellectual limitations of His age and time, they will think it a further trial to find Him using in argument a belief of His time which criticism may some day prove untrue. They find no difficulty in His use of the phrase "He maketh His sun to rise," although it is not the most correct form in which the phenomenon can be described, and conveyed as He used it a very different import from that which it conveys now. No one now is shocked at the Lord's application of the words, because it has been agreed upon, after long contention and many surprises to the faith of simple souls, that God in the Bible does not give us scientific information, and because it is recognised that, though the details of the natural operation be different from what was then believed, yet it is still truly brought about by God, and conveys the lesson which the Lord deduces. But what is there except our own habits of thought to show that the very same thing is not the case in these questions of Old Testament authorship and date, that we have not here also to do with matters which God does not teach us in the Bible, because they belong to the sphere of scientific

inquiry, and that the spiritual lesson does not here also remain true, though the historical detail be corrected?

It is among the necessary conditions of human life that, in seeking truth, and still more in teaching truth, man must disregard unimportant corrections either of his own judgments or of those of other men. If we were to wait until we can put everything exactly right in every stage of thought, we should never get beyond the most preliminary steps. Partial error is in the very language which men speak, and there is nothing in which the true seeker and the true teacher is better distinguished from the pretender than in his power to touch the heart of the matter and pass by what is unimportant. As the great commander makes for the central position, disregarding many hostile defences, to which a pedant would have laid formal siege, so it is in the thinking and in the speech of those who wage the real war against falsehood: "*non cauponantes bellum, sed beligerantes.*" To some it appears that there lies an important difference between that submission to human ignorance which is the inevitable lot of life, and the active use, in thought or teaching, of arguments in which ignorance mingles. But the difference is in truth only that between passivity and active work. It is quite easy to commit yourself to nothing doubtful, so long as you neither think nor argue. But the very moment you commence to do either of these things you enter upon a work, the very condition of which is that you must use imperfect conceptions for the sake of reaching or teaching the highest attainable truth. The higher and more spiritual the subject is, and the greater the change in men's minds which is aimed at, the more certain is it that there will be much in the argument which the critic will be able to correct.

Every argument that is to produce any real effect must be *ad hominem*; and to omit from your method whatever bears this character is to deprive it of life, and assign its

place to the limbo of that reasoning which defies criticism and moves no man. It is not the boast of an apostle alone, but the character of the religion which he preached, that it is made all things to all men, that it might by all means save some. And it was its Founder who placed it on this path. No characteristic of His moral teaching is more conspicuous than the fearlessness with which He utters things divinely true, if we take them with the circumstances in which they were spoken, but which, without these, become false. Have we a right to expect that His method would be more careful in history than in morals?

An argument which is merely and purely *ad hominem* is one which possesses no general validity, but derives all its force from some prejudice in the mind to which it is presented. We could not perhaps conceive such an argument used with perfect truthfulness, if it were the only one on which the conclusion depended. But it is otherwise if it is advanced to support something for which thoroughly valid reasons exist, which reasons however the mind that is dealt with is unable for the time being to appreciate. S. Paul's argument from the history of Sarah and Hagar is perhaps of this kind. The reasons for freedom and against bondage of the spirit are the highest that the human mind can feel. And will any one call the apostle untruthful or mistaken because he supports this faith, the nobleness of which must be the better known every hour that it is tried, by an argument adapted to the Jewish schools, whether he himself felt a force in it, or only knew that the persons addressed might do so? And if any of the quotations from the Old Testament which are made by our Lord had been arguments *ad hominem* of this kind, we ought to have considered, before impugning His perfections, what the truth was in support of which they were made, and attributed their form to the circumstances of the time. There is no analogy whatever between such a case

and one in which something false is voluntarily suggested in order to lead to a desired conclusion, or in which the conclusion aimed at is itself wrong or doubtful.

But it does not seem that any of the Lord's quotations from the Old Testament are *ad hominem* in this sense. The matter which criticism considers doubtful concerns, in every case, a point secondary to the Lord's purpose, and on which it would have been loss of time and loss of teaching power for Him to dwell. And in every case the argument He applies is truly contained in the passage He quotes, however the passage be viewed. The histories of Lot's wife and Jonah retain their fitness for illustration and warning, though they be viewed as visions or allegories; and Psalm cx. yields the meaning which the Lord takes from it, whether it was written by David or not.

If indeed we can be sure of the terms which the Lord used in quoting this passage (the gospel records have as usual verbal differences) we cannot deny that much of the point of the expression lies in the words, "Doth not David call him Lord?" But the point of the expression need not be the point of the argument; and in this case the argument would be weak indeed if it depended on the Davidic authorship. The Lord is not building a piece of formal reasoning on an isolated text; far less is He puzzling His opponents. He is pointing to a fundamental character of Messianic prophecy which they did not recognise: that the Messiah throughout the Old Testament is foretold and longed for both as God and man; enduring what none but man could have to bear, yet doing for man what God alone could do, and demanding a corresponding homage. This is the double stream of prophecy which met in His person, and which if the Jews could have understood, they would have known both how the Christ should suffer and how He should be raised from the dead. Could it make any essential difference whether the idea was presented to them in the words of

David, or of another prophet? and shall we lay any stress upon Christ's use of the current impression as to the authorship, in comparison with the spiritual insight which draws out the teaching for man's soul which lay in this record of the desires of prophets and kings of old?

Suppose that all experts some day assure themselves that the psalm is post-Davidic with a certainty such as we feel that a piece of the time of Dryden was not written by Chaucer, do we really think that speculative arguments as to the extent of our Lord's human knowledge would stand against a conclusion thus scientifically proved? And in that case, how obvious would reasons such as we have given appear! how decidedly would all Christians disconnect the Lord's authority from the question of the date! how completely would the steady refusal to make this separation, to which now, while the point is doubtful, many Christians unreservedly pledge themselves, be left the sole property of the infidel! But the infidel might recall to mind, as Protestants do in the case of the pope, that Christians considered infallibility to be pledged to the date, until it was found that the date was wrong.

The view we have taken of the intellectual conditions implied in the Lord's humanity is that which is to be gathered from the general tenor of the gospel record. But certain passages are relied on as showing that He was in some sense omniscient. These instances however are either due to perfect spiritual discernment or come under the head of prophecy, which is a species of miracle. Now the Lord uses powers in miracle which it would be heretical to suppose inherent in His humanity. He walked on the water; but to exempt His body from the law of gravitation would be docetism. Nor are the Lord's prophecies of such a tenor as to support the belief that to Him the future was as clear as the present. How indeed could the future be as clear as the present to One who prays, "Let this

cup pass from Me," and, "My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me"?

But there is still one point, and that of supreme importance. How shall we be sure that, if the Lord did not know the authorship of Psalm cx., He was not also incorrect as to His own Sonship; or that the words in which He claimed from His disciples faith in that transcendent fact were not wanting in the perfect authority which shall warrant us in resting upon them a conclusion so tremendous? How shall we maintain that "David calleth Him Lord" may be taken loosely, while "I and My Father are one" shall impart to us, not merely a truth of human history, but a revelation of the supernatural?

We answer plainly, that it is a mistake to regard those words of the Lord which concern His own supernatural claims as if they were information brought by Him to our minds from some foreign region, regarding which His mental powers and opportunities enable Him to instruct us. He never addresses men in this fashion when He is teaching them religion; nor are His utterances to be paralleled for a moment with information as to the authorship of a book. He addresses all men as possessing moral and spiritual powers which respond to spiritual truth and to the exhibition of a Divine life. These powers in man essentially belong to his nature, and every man, if he doeth truth, ought to be able to exercise them; and the external truth to which they correspond is not the contingent truth which belongs to earthly events. It is very nigh, in the mouth and in the heart, for it is the voice of God; that which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of life. These are the powers in us upon which He depends for the recognition of His spiritual claims. May we not humbly believe that it was the corresponding spiritual powers of His own perfect and

unfallen humanity, and not merely His intellect, that were the medium of His own apprehension of those claims for conveyance to us.

It is true that spiritual truth must be expressed in intellectual forms, and revealed in earthly facts. But as if to prevent us from resting in facts and forms, and imagining that appeal is made to our mental powers when it is really made to our spiritual, a singular want of strict carefulness is shown in the New Testament as to the intellectual form through which the spiritual Presence speaks straight to the spirit of man. The words of the Lord are repeated with many variations, and so are the facts of His life and work. It would seem as if the more human the form in which the appeal to the spiritual faculties of man is made, the better is it fitted for its purpose of raising him to God. The ruling principle is, "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Does the method in which the New Testament is presented to us lead us to expect information upon authorship and age when Jesus quotes from the Old? In both, the appeal that is made is to reason, spirit, and conscience; and the proper substance of the revelation consists, not of dates or circumstances, but of Himself.

We look to our Saviour to furnish in perfection that which we aim at without ever attaining. First, perfect morality: which implies perfect conduct in all circumstances and relations into which His human life brings Him, but not the overpassing of the conditions of human life. Second, perfect intelligence: which implies the perfect understanding of all that life brought to Him in its true meaning and connexion, but not the ascertainment of contingent facts, the knowledge of which life did not and could not furnish to Him. Thirdly, perfect spiritual perception: which implies the unerring comprehension and communication to us of the

Divine claims of His Father and Himself, of His spiritual relations to His Father and to us.

It seems to us therefore, that we need wait no further information to be sure that the Lord is not pledged to any belief which the Old Testament criticism of the day calls in question. Let that criticism be jealously sifted, but let no man dream of surrendering his faith in Christ, whatever the issue of the controversy be.

RICHARD TRAVERS SMITH.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

III.

(1 COR. xv. 45, 46.)

AT the close of the verse immediately preceding the point now reached by us, St. Paul had laid it down as a settled and incontrovertible principle, that, "if there is a natural (or, rather, sensuous) body, there is also a spiritual body." The words present all the appearance of having been regarded by the apostle as an axiom. They rest upon the conception which universal experience compels us to attach to men whenever we think of them as living beings, that is, whenever we think of them in the only light in which they are a matter of concern to us. As living beings we know them, care for them, and must reason about them. But this living being of theirs, as known to us, consists of two things, a life-force and a body in which the life-force dwells. Extinguish the one, and you have nothing but a dead framework hastening to corruption. Extinguish the other, and you have but a shadowy phantom, not a man. When therefore we have the one, we may rest assured that God, who will not leave His creatures hopelessly stunted and imperfect, will add the other. But there are two wholly



different life-forces or inner states of man,—one connecting him with the visible, tangible, material world; the other connecting him with God and the spiritual, invisible, and heavenly world. That both existed was indisputable. No one would deny that the lower life-force was a reality. Evidence was borne to it at every step taken, and through every act performed, by men in the material sphere around them. Was the higher life-force less a reality than the lower? Let us remember that St. Paul is speaking to Christians, and he knows the answer that they will and must give. He would have given it himself. When he exclaims in writing to the Galatians, “I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me: and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me”; or when again, in writing to the Philippians, he says, “For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain” (Gal. ii. 20, Phil. i. 21),—upon what is he dwelling? Not on outward proof only, or evidence presented to the senses. He had had outward proof of the *facts* which lay at the bottom of his spiritual life, and in many passages of his speeches and writings he shows his dependence upon it, and his joy in the thought that it was so satisfactory and complete. But no proof of a similar kind could bear witness to the reality of his inner life, that life of which he says, “It was the good pleasure of God, who separated me, even from my mother’s womb, and called me by His grace, to reveal His Son in me” (Gal. i. 15, 16). The evidence of such a life depended upon his own experience of it. The Spirit of Christ living in him brought conviction to the apostle’s mind; and to any one who would have denounced this as enthusiasm or self-delusion he would simply have replied, “I know in whom I have believed.” The answer that he would himself have given he is well assured will be given by Christian men everywhere.

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But if all Christians would give that answer, how much more even those to whom he was now writing ! They were part of the Church of Christ in Corinth ; and there was no city of the time in which greater or more undeniable evidence had been afforded to its Christian inhabitants of the reality of the higher life which animated them. They knew not only that, beyond the limits of earth, their Redeemer ruled in spiritual power and with a body glorified. All Christians, wherever their lot was cast, possessed that knowledge. In addition to that, it was known at Corinth, to a degree to which it seems to have been known nowhere else in that age, that the glorified Lord communicated His Spirit to His people. In what high terms does the apostle, in the beginning of this very epistle, describe the state of Christians there ! "I thank my God always concerning you, for the grace of God which was given you in Christ Jesus ; that in everything ye were enriched in Him, in all utterance and all knowledge, . . . so that ye come behind in no gift " (chap. i. 4-6) ; and at a later point in the same epistle what a splendid exuberance of gifts does he describe them as possessing : "the word of wisdom," "the word of knowledge," "faith," "gifts of healings," "workings of miracles," "prophecy," "discernings of spirits," "divers kinds of tongues," "the interpretation of tongues" ; and all these were wrought in them by "the one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to each one severally as He would " ! (chap. xii. 8-11.) Who could doubt the reality of the Spirit-life, of the Spirit-force, alike in their Saviour and in themselves ? Therein lies one of the points of deepest interest in St. Paul's argument. He takes for granted that spiritual experience is a fact, and he reasons upon it. He is not afraid of being met with a charge on the part of some sceptic, that he is begging the question, and that the reality of the Spirit and of the Spirit-life must first be proved. There is no further proof needed

he, as it were, exclaims. Where the Spirit is He shows that He is, and he who has received Him becomes as conscious of His power as of breathing the air around him. The Church of Christ has felt, and still feels, this too little. She talks of proofs, of evidences, as if they were not less convincing than the Multiplication Table. She would often produce more effect were she to give the Spirit first and the proof afterwards. At any rate it was certain that there was a life of the Spirit as well as a life of sense. The argument is thus clear. God has clothed our lower life-force with a sensuous body adapted to it, and we may be sure that He will also clothe our higher life-force with the spiritual body which will alone be its fitting habitation.

The fact of man's existence in a sensuous body is thus the *primary* thought in St. Paul's mind; and this may help to explain one of the difficulties often felt in connexion with the quotation from the book of Genesis contained in the next following words. That quotation unquestionably ends with the word "soul" in the clause, "The first man Adam became a living soul"; and it is meant to end there. No other idea ought ever to have been entertained. Even on the ground of St. Paul's knowledge of Scripture, it ought never to have been supposed that he intended the last part of ver. 45 to be regarded as a part of his quotation. But, aside from that, the words would not have proved his immediate point, the existence of the sensuous body as something included in the Divine plan. That is the premiss from which he reasons to the existence of a spiritual body; and that therefore is all that he would establish by Scripture.

Besides this, however, it may be observed, that the latter half of ver. 45 not only was not, it could not be in Scripture, or at least in any Scripture that might be thought of here. As we have yet to see more fully, the point of time to which it relates did not arrive till centuries

after the canon of the Old Testament Scriptures had been closed. To imagine therefore, that St. Paul thought of passing off the words, "The last Adam became a life-giving spirit," as words of Scripture, is to attribute to him both an ignorance with which he could not possibly be chargeable, and a credulity as to the ease with which his readers might be misled that is equally incredible. The direct line of thought is simply this: the first man, a creature of earthly sensations, had a sensuous body. The inference is, the last man, being spirit, was also life-giving; and as there can be no life without a body adapted to it, the purpose or plan of God must include a spiritual as well as a sensuous body.

The apostle's appeal, then, is to Scripture. Why? Because Scripture is the expression of God's plan. In vers. 3 and 4 of this chapter, a similar appeal is made for a similar purpose. Christ is there said to have died for our sins "according to the Scriptures," and to have been raised again "according to the Scriptures." Not that in either instance any mere prophecy is fulfilled, or any mere fact of history recorded upon the Divine authority. The meaning is, that Scripture contains the mind and purpose of the Almighty. Does it tell us that man at his creation was a being possessed of a vital force clothed in a sensuous body? We may infer that this was part of a scheme or plan, which, having been fulfilled, as we see, in one part, will in due season be fulfilled in all its parts.

On the slight changes made in the form of the quotation it is not necessary to dwell; yet they are not without a bearing on St. Paul's line of thought, and they thus help us to understand more clearly what that is. As the words occur in Genesis ii. 7 in the LXX., from which they are taken, they contain no *πρῶτος* and no *Ἀδάμ*, running simply *ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*. But St. Paul was justified in inserting *πρῶτος*, because there could be no doubt that the person referred to was really the first man,

the words of Genesis immediately preceding the quoted statement being, "And God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." He was also justified in inserting Ἀδάμ, because that man was Adam. As, accordingly, the words, "The last Adam became a life-giving spirit," are already at the beginning of the verse in St. Paul's thoughts, the insertion of the words "first" and "Adam" in the quotation need not occasion the slightest difficulty. At the same time, the fact that the words are inserted is highly instructive. Keeping them in view, we see more clearly than we might otherwise have done what is passing through the apostle's mind, and we are led by them to certain ideas of his which must be taken into account if we would understand him fully. The first of these ideas lurks in the word "Adam," the double use of which shows us, what need only be hinted at now (it will meet us again), that St. Paul is thinking of two heads of two lines of descendants, who convey to those that spring from them what they themselves are. The second idea appears in the word "first" when combined with the word "last" in the sense in which it is here used. That sense is precisely similar to the sense in which any one examining the passage will find it necessary to understand the adverbial "last" (ἔσχατον) in ver. 8 of this chapter: "And last of all He appeared to me also." In neither case does "last" mean simply the last of a series, who has appeared but may be followed by another. It means the last absolutely, the last of the series to which the person or the thing spoken of belongs, to be followed by no other. St. Paul does not merely say that there was an Adam who had appeared as the first man, and that then there was another Adam who had appeared later, and who might still have a successor. He sees that in God's plan there are two heads in the human family, *and no more*. The one, it is true, is the head of the whole family; the other is the head of believers only. But

the point is, that the last come is also in such a sense the last to come, that our position in God's plan must be regulated by our relation either to Him or to the one who went before Him. Nor is it any objection to this that in ver. 47 the apostle uses the word "second" instead of the word "last." He does so because there will then be a change of thought, because he will then be tracing the *historical* unfolding of the Divine economy as it is evolved, first, in a first Adam, and, secondly, in a second. At present it is not so much a historical unfolding of the economy that he has in view. He would grasp its principle; and for this purpose all its parts must be embraced in one whole, from its beginning to its end, from its first to its last. The words "first" and "Adam" added to the quotation are thus by no means unimportant. They belong directly to the current of thought, and are cast up by it.

A third word here before us calls also for a moment's notice—"life-giving." Why not simply "living"? Would not "living spirit" have been a closer parallel and contrast to "living soul"? It would be so could "spirit" simply live its own life, and be therewith satisfied. But spirit cannot thus live. The conception of something that merely lives, that exerts no quickening power on others, is not enough for *πνεῦμα*. In its very nature spirit is life-giving. It is the water of which Jesus spoke to the woman of Samaria, "The water that I shall give him shall become in him a fountain of springing water (not a well of stagnant water, however deep and full), unto eternal life" (John iv. 14). Therefore must the last Adam, when he became "spirit," have been unable to confine His spirit-existence to Himself. It was necessary that He should be not simply "living," but "life-giving."

Such then are the apostle's words, and now what is his thought? It is that two great Heads include within them and sum up the history of man. The one is the first, the

other is the second Adam : the first, a living soul, sensuous, and all his descendants like him ; the second, a life-giving spirit, and all His descendants like Him, spiritual, life-giving spirit. There is no help for it. We must belong either to the one or to the other. To which of the two we ought to belong we shall be told by-and-by.

From these minor particulars we have now to turn to two questions of the greatest interest connected with the words of this verse. To what points of time does St. Paul refer in its two clauses? When was it that the first Adam became a living soul? When was it that the last Adam became a life-giving spirit.

1. When did the first Adam become a living soul? The answer to this question seems undoubtedly to be, Before the Fall. The passage quoted from Genesis clearly indicates this by its position in that book. It is connected with the first account of the creation of man : " And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life ; and man became a living soul " (Gen. ii. 7). The words thus relate to man's primal condition, while yet in his state of innocence. Even then our first parents were not all that the Almighty intended them to be. They were, it is true, endowed with more than a mere animal soul. They were certainly higher than the beasts that perish. They were perfectly adapted to this present world. They had not only their organs of sense, together with appetites, affections, and passions ; they had also intelligence, reason, imagination, memory, together with all that might fit them for a thoughtful and, so far as this world goes, an elevated life. Yet, even under his highest aspect, St. Paul would say, man was not fitted for the state of existence to which it was God's design to raise him at a future time. He had a body that was naturally mortal, that was not dominated by the spirit which is alone above all connexion with the dust, which is alone unchange-

able and eternal. Some means, no doubt, might and would have been found by his merciful Creator to save him from that decay and death which belonged to all merely sensuous things. Whether by eating of the tree of life, or in some other way, he would have been raised in the scale of being, and delivered from that penalty of death which was threatened to transgression. But only thus. Notwithstanding the opinion to the contrary entertained by distinguished theologians,¹ nothing seems clearer than that the apostle is not here thinking of our first parent after the Fall, but in his estate of innocence.

2. When did the last Adam become a life-giving spirit? It has been said, At the incarnation.² But the whole argument of the apostle makes it necessary to suppose that the resurrection, and not the incarnation, of our Lord is in his view. At ver. 21 he had said that "since through man came death, through man came also the resurrection of the dead"; and that the words do not simply mean through gift of man is proved by the following verse, where we read that "*in the Christ shall all be made alive.*" In other words, the meaning is, that as we die in Adam, who died, so in Christ, who was raised from the dead, are we also raised. The thought of Christ risen is the very foundation of the whole reasoning. Again, when, at ver. 23, the order of the resurrection is spoken of, it is obviously the risen Christ who is described as "*the firstfruits.*" And, once more, the words under consideration are introduced as the expression of the fundamental fact upon which the prospect of the resurrection of the dead has been rested in the immediately preceding statement. Besides this, it is to be remembered that the last Adam did not become a *life-giving* Spirit at His incarnation. He was then made in all things like unto those brethren whom He had come to save. He took upon Him the very nature, with all its

¹ Comp. Elliecott *in loc.*

² Comp. Edwards *in loc.*

frailties and limitations, possessed by them, that He might enter into their condition, and might lead them on in that way of toil and suffering and death by which alone they can reach His Father's kingdom. It is true that our Lord, even during His earthly life, was in possession of the Spirit, and St. Paul's conception of Spirit is, that it always acts towards what is external to it, that it is always in itself "*life-giving*." But herein lay the peculiarity in the case of Christ,—He was *Himself* limited, confined, restrained by the "*flesh*" which He had assumed; and, inasmuch as in giving His Spirit He gives *Himself*, not merely something else which He has to bestow, it necessarily follows that the Spirit dwelling in Him could not, during the days of His humiliation, exercise that quickening or life-giving power on others which properly belonged to it. Only when the limits occasioned by the "*flesh*" were broken through could Christ communicate *Himself*, and therefore only then could He communicate His Spirit, with perfect freedom. Thus, although Christ always possessed in Himself a fulness of the life-giving Spirit, He could not *become* that life-giving Spirit to others until, rising from the dead in a glorified body, He threw aside for ever the wrappings of earth by which He had been previously confined.

This teaching of St. Paul is not confined to the passage with which we are now dealing. It lies also at the bottom of such words as these, "But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies because of His Spirit that dwelleth in you" (Rom. viii. 11); and it is still more clearly expressed when the same apostle says, "Now the Lord is the Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all, with unveiled face reflecting as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord, who is Spirit"

(2 Cor. iii. 17, 18). In both these passages it is the risen Lord who is before us, and that in His estate of Spirit, in the freedom with which He works in that state, and in the transference to us of a spirit which quickens our mortal bodies into a resurrection like His own.

Only then at His resurrection, and not at His incarnation, did our Lord become a life-giving Spirit. Only at His resurrection was He in the full sense of the words the "last Adam." Then however He did become this Head of a new line of descendants; and the facts recorded in Scripture of the period of His history which followed this point illustrate the truth. It was only after His resurrection that "He breathed on His disciples, and said unto them, Receive ye Holy Spirit" (John xx. 22). Only after the same event, on the day of Pentecost, did He shed forth His Spirit on the assembled disciples and inaugurate the entrance of the Christian Church upon her mission (Acts ii.); and only with His risen life is connected that bestowal of His Spirit upon His people by which they are enabled to bear true witness to Him, and to convict the world of sin and righteousness and judgment (John xv. 27; xvi. 7, 8). All this then He has done and does in the only body in which it is possible for Him to do it, in the glorified body which He now possesses in His heavenly kingdom. The "last Adam" is not simply the incarnate, but the risen and glorified Redeemer.

There is, however, something more to be considered; for the thought might naturally enough occur to many, if there is not only a sensuous, but a spiritual body, and if the spiritual body is, as it must be, so much more glorious than the sensuous body, why might we not have it now? To give an answer to this question seems to be the main object of the following verse, "Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is sensuous; then that which is spiritual" (ver. 46).

That the verse begins with ἀλλά is sufficient to show that we are not to have a mere repetition of what has gone before, but that new matter is to be introduced; and this new matter seems intended to meet the difficulty just mentioned. Not that we have now such a general or abstract statement as that, in the very nature of things, the "sensuous" must precede the "spiritual." The apostle appears rather to have in view the historical manifestation of God's plan as exhibited in Adam and in Christ. Let us look at them, and in them we shall see what is really the order of the universe, so far at least as it is connected with the thought of time. We then have brought before us in a concrete form the essential relations of things to one another. And, had St. Paul pursued his thought further, he might have added, No wonder that it should be so, for all things must be moulded upon the pattern which has existed from eternity in the Divine Mind. Where then may that pattern be best seen? Surely nowhere so well as in the contrast between the first and the last Adam. The first Adam begins the history of humanity; the last Adam carries it to its consummation. Compare the two with one another, and you will at once learn by the comparison that the sensuous precedes the spiritual, that the limitations of the earthly come before the freedom of the heavenly. What was the case in the history of the first and last Adam must find its reflection in us. We have no ground of complaint that only in the future shall we possess the spiritual and heavenly body.

The principle indeed is stated in the most general terms, for we are not to supply σῶμα to τὸ πνευματικόν and to τὸ ψυχικόν.¹ We must take the neuters in the universality which they are so well fitted to express; and, thus taking them, the proposition is applicable, not to the human body

¹ Comp. Moulton's *Winer*, p. 741; Ellicott *in loc.* Hofmann supplies σῶμα *in loc.*

alone, but to all things. Nor when we think of the perfection of the Deity, can we believe in the existence of any other principle. God could not be what we must suppose Him to be, were the law of an opposite kind, were the progression from a higher to a lower. Absolute perfection must desire to draw all things nearer to itself. Nay, may we not even go further, and say, that it is difficult to imagine the Almighty placing man upon the earth in his highest perfection at the very first? The most essential element of human perfection, the free choice and appropriation of the successive steps that lead to it, would then have been wanting. There could have been no moral training of the race. The precious fruits of discipline would have been unknown. We need not therefore ask, Why not perfection?—why not the spirit-life?—why not the spiritual body—now?

With what calmness does the thought of the apostle teach us to contemplate the otherwise strange problem of human history! So far from complaining that we are not at once introduced to the perfection of our being, we learn to feel that the first lowly estate of man was the prerequisite of his moral growth. The fact that man was first formed only a living soul, so far from being full of nothing but perplexity, becomes, to one who recognises infinite love as the spring of all creation, the root out of which there grows the goodly tree of hope. That moral growth, that hope which impels to it,

“—is man's distinctive mark alone,
Not God's, and not the beasts'. God is, they are,
Man partly is, and wholly hopes to be.”

“By hope were we saved: but hope that is seen is not hope: for who hopeth for that which he seeth? But if we hope for that which we see not, then do we with patience wait for it” (Rom. viii. 24, 25).

One other remark ought to be made. We are not to imagine that, while St. Paul has thus the idea of progress in his mind, he means by that progress continuous evolution, as if gradually, and by an infinite succession of small changes, the material passed into the sensuous, and the sensuous into the spiritual. Evolution has tried to bridge the chasm between matter and mind, but has failed to do so. St. Paul does not attempt to bridge it. Perhaps it never occurred to him that a bridge was necessary. He deals with a state of things, the existing conditions of which were acknowledged both by himself and others. Although, therefore, that state of things embodies a law of progress, it does not follow, that the steps of the progress are to rise out of and above one another by a development which never ceases to operate. The great stages of the progress are rather marked by new creative acts. At the transition from the body of dust to *ψυχή* God interposes. At that from *ψυχή* to *πνεῦμα* He interposes again.

For the present we must pause. Let us, in doing so, recall for a moment what has been established. We have found the difficulties connected with the thought of the resurrection of the dead frankly and fully met. We have seen the course of human life on earth as it terminates in the grave set over against another course animated by a Divine spirit with the thought of which death is incompatible, and which is seen to be holding on in its eternal course in the person of the risen and glorified Lord. We have had set before us the principle from which we infer that, given the spirit-life of which experience tells, the spiritual body must be also given as its framework. And, finally, we have been taught to behold in all this, not something standing isolated from ordinary human history, but something graven in the deepest lines upon that history, in its first and in its last Adam, in its whole progress therefore from its earliest, and for our purpose at least lowest, to its highest stage.

What we desire still further to know is, why we should be so closely connected with that history that it should repeat itself in us. If it can be shown us that it is reasonable that we should be, even if it be simply the fact that we are, thus closely connected with it, we can ask no more. We shall acquiesce in the Almighty's plan ; and, believing that there will be a resurrection of the dead in the Lord who has already risen, we shall be ready to listen to the apostle as he describes the particulars of an event so glorious, so far beyond all natural expectation or hope of man.

W. MILLIGAN.

RECOLLECTIONS OF DR. DÖLLINGER.

IV. CONTINENTAL TOPICS.

AN insatiable thirst for knowledge, or rather, a fearless desire to know the whole truth about things worth knowing, may be called the dominant passion of Dr. Döllinger's life. I say "fearless," because the fact that the results of investigation were likely to be of an unwelcome character, never made him turn back from investigating. It was this which always made him glad to converse on subjects respecting which his companion for the moment could possibly give him some information. Hence his love of talking on English topics with Englishmen, on Italian topics with Italians, and on their own special subjects with specialists. But he was a born teacher as well as a born student; and among the chief delights of his long life the pleasure of imparting information came next to the pleasure of acquiring it. His vast acquaintance with foreign politics, especially in matters ecclesiastical, and *as illuminated by the history of the past*, made his conversation on all continental topics intensely interesting to Englishmen, to whose insular prejudices and ignorance knowledge and opinions such as his were a most wholesome and delightful corrective. But it seems a hopeless task to attempt to convey to those who have never heard him a fair idea of either the instructiveness or the charm of such conversations: all the more so as he had a keen appreciation of what is droll or grotesque either in the past or the present, and would manifest this by a vivacity of manner and of look which was as irresistible as it is inimitable.

I had been saying one day in 1872, that it was difficult for English Liberals to approve the recent legislation against the Jesuits. It was allowed that they were pernicious; but the law looked like persecution. He replied: "Oh,

there will not be much persecution. The main object is to restrain their influence in the schools. But I confess myself that I should have preferred to have had an oath administered to them; and I should like to have had the commission of drawing up that oath. I think I could frame one which they would refuse to take, and yet which public opinion would approve as natural and fair."

"An oath of allegiance to the empire?"

"Yes, and of renunciation of certain doctrines; for example, that when a civil law runs counter to an ecclesiastical law, it is right to disobey the civil law. The law against the Jesuits affects only Prussia and Bavaria: there are no Jesuits in any of the smaller States. In Prussia they are very numerous: in Bavaria there is one small community at Ratisbon. They came there in rather a strange way, occupying the Scotch monastery. The Scotch for a long time had a monastery at Ratisbon; but it did not flourish. The young Scotchmen who came out to it could never become acclimatized. They fell sick and had to go home again; or, if they remained, died prematurely. It was obvious that the supply could not be kept up. The Scotch bishops wished to have the revenues of the monastery transferred to Scotland; but of course that could not be. After some discussion it was agreed that a certain sum¹ was to be paid to the Scotch Church, and the monastery given up to another religious society. *Rome stipulated that these should be Jesuits.*

"We have here an instance of what great changes may be caused simply by a name. The *Scotæ*, as you know, in the eighth and ninth centuries mean the Irish. Much of Germany, for example my own native place (Bamberg), was converted by Irish missionaries, St. Kilian and others

¹ 120,000 florins. In spite of the protest of the Archbishop of Glasgow, the money was paid, not to the Scotch Church, but to the Propaganda!

(Colman and Totman, c. A.D. 680). In gratitude for this benefit *monasteria Scotarum* were founded in various places, —Würzburg, Erdfurth, Cologne, and Ratisbon. Somehow or other, one does not know how, the name *Scotæ* came to be confined to the people in North Britain, while the Irish were called *Hiberni*; and about the twelfth century these monasteries appear as belonging to Scotchmen. How the transfer from Irish to Scotch came about is lost in obscurity. I myself learnt the first rudiments of English from an old Scotch Benedictine—one of the last of them—at Würzburg.”

The same year he was telling me the history of the great split in the Society of the Jesuits, when their General Gonzalez, although supported by Innocent XI., tried in vain to put an end to probabilism as the received doctrine of the society; all of which is now given in great detail in the invaluable work on *Moralstreitigkeiten in der Römischkatholischen Kirche* published by Dollinger and Reusch last year. He continued; “Innocent XI. is the only Pope in the last three centuries that there has been any thought of canonizing. Pius V. (1566) is the last that was canonized. The ‘Acts’ for the canonization of Innocent XI. were drawn up and are still in existence in print. Gonzalez’ narration of his intercourse with Innocent is among the evidence. But the Jesuits have done their utmost to prevent a man, who was so opposed to their society, from being declared a saint. And they have succeeded. The suppression of the Jesuits by Clement XIV. in 1773 was no voluntary act on his part. He was driven on to it by the Spanish ambassador and others, who threatened him with the exposure of certain awkward facts if he refused to comply. Up to 1773 Munich was quite a paradise for the Jesuits: they were the lords of the situation. But when Pius VII. in an evil hour (1814) allowed the re-institution of the society, they were not allowed to return to Munich.

Under the late king Maximilian they made one astounding effort to get back. The king was often unwell and suffered dreadfully from headache. Some Jesuits asked for an audience. They said that they were in possession of a secret remedy that would cure the king, and that they would tell him of it, if he would allow the society to re-establish itself in Munich. King Max would not even see them."

"There was a time when I admired the Jesuits," said Dr. Döllinger, on another occasion; "but that was before I knew so much about them as I do now."

"The corruption of the order must have begun very soon."

"Yes; there is a little book written by a well-known Spanish Jesuit, Mariana,—perhaps the ablest man the Jesuits ever had,—in which he speaks of the diseases already existing in the society.¹ It was written in Spanish, and afterwards translated into Latin. It has since been published in Spanish again. The Jesuits declare that it is not Mariana's, and have had it put on the Index. But there is no doubt of its authenticity:—indeed, they sometimes admit it among themselves. I have myself seen a correspondence between a general of the order and a member of it, in which the genuineness is admitted, but is nevertheless to be denied; and the book is to be kept from members of the order. To no country have the Jesuits done more harm than to Poland. It has not yet been sufficiently recognised how largely the ruin of Poland was due to them. They had the bringing up of the Polish nobility, and they instituted a system of oppression and persecution of all other religious communities, especially of the independent Greek Church. A country thus divided

¹ *De las Enfermedades de la Compañía de Jesus.* It got into the hands of a French bookseller, who printed it in French and Italian, as well as in Spanish and Latin. Bordeaux, 1625.

against itself could not stand. To Spain also they have done infinite harm.¹ Hence the anxiety of the Spanish ambassador for the suppression of the order. And I don't think that English Roman Catholics know how much better their position would have been in the old days of oppression, if it had not been for the Jesuits. I want to bring that out in my lectures on reunion.

"Alexander III. (1159-1181) was the first to claim the canonization of saints as a special privilege of the Pope. Pius IX., under the direction of the Jesuits, has made a very free use of this privilege. Of course every Jesuit who is canonized is a proof of the excellence of the order and a gratification of Jesuit pride. The last historian of the order (Cordara),—the one who brought down their own history of themselves to about 1625, since when it has not been continued,—lived to see the suppression of the order in 1773. He has left us his opinion as to *why* they were put down, why the Almighty allowed so useful a society to be extinguished; and he comes to the conclusion that it is on account of their pride. 'We have been inordinately proud,' he confesses; 'we have set ourselves above everything, every office and every institution. We have assumed our own superiority, and have treated all other orders and societies with contempt. Pride has been the cause of our fall.'"

The day after this conversation Prince Hohenlohe was in Munich, having just come from Berlin. He called on Dr. Döllinger, and told him that one great reason why the Government was taking such strong measures against the Jesuits was apprehension of the influence which they exercise upon the troops, making the Roman Catholic soldiers

¹ During the political crisis in Spain in 1873, I asked Dr. Döllinger what he considered to be the cause of the decadence of that country. He replied, "First, *idleness*, taught by the example of the numerous monks throughout the land; secondly, *cruelty*, taught by the Inquisition; thirdly, *ignorance*, produced by the Index." This he explained at considerable length.

disaffected and unwilling to fight for a Protestant empire. In Italy the clergy had tried to sow disaffection in the army without success; but in Germany, where religion has a far more real hold upon the people, such attempts were serious. Dr. Döllinger seemed to have no doubt that Bismarck was the originator of the law against the Jesuits, and spoke as if he knew this. He told me of a ministerial council held before the debate in the Reichstag, in which Bismarck delivered the famous utterance, "We are not going to Canossa, either in the body or in the spirit" (*Wir gehen nicht nach Canossa, weder körperlich noch geistlich*). At this council of ministers discussion had gone on for some time and Bismarck had remained silent. At last he said, "It is my opinion that the Jesuits should be excommunicated from the German empire. They must be put under the ban of the empire. *Hinaus mit ihnen!*"

A year or two later (July, 1875) Dr. Döllinger said: "Here in Germany the fight between the Government and the ultramontanes is as fierce as ever: no prospect of peace or arrangement. It is not commonly understood in England what a tremendous power the Government here have to contend with; how Vaticanism hangs round the neck of a continental Government like a millstone. If the clergy are against the laws, and use their influence to prevent their being carried into effect, what is left for a Government to do but to put every engine in its possession to work to control the clergy? It is ignorance of the enormous difficulties of the German Government which causes the *Times* and some of our friends to write as they do about the Falk laws. They cannot appreciate the circumstances which make those laws just."

I asked what steps the Bavarian Government would take respecting the pastorals which the bishops had just issued with a view to influencing the elections.

"None," he said; "there are none to be taken."

"But surely the bishops have contravened the law by publishing such documents without the royal assent."

"No doubt; but the law is without a sanction. If the Government were to prosecute the bishops, it would gain nothing. It is just the same as the publication of the Vatican decrees. The minister then declared publicly that it was impossible to punish the bishops for the offence which they had committed: such was the state of the law. In Prussia it would be different. There the State could, and no doubt would, proceed against the bishops with effect. Here in Munich, in the elections which are now going on, the clergy are using the confessional itself as an engine for influencing the result."

He remarked that the Italian Government had repeated the fatal mistake made by Sir Robert Peel, in allowing the Roman Catholic hierarchy to be appointed directly by the Roman see, without retaining even a veto for the Government. The consequences may be worse in Italy than in England, "but in one respect the English Government was more culpable. An Italian minister, when reproached with this error, replied that the ministry could not help themselves. Those Italians who are not ultramontanes are for the most part indifferentists, who care nothing whatever about religion, or else are infidels, and think that the surest way of bringing religion to ruin is to allow the Papacy full swing.¹ 'Consequently,' said this minister, 'if we fought the Papacy, we should have no support from any large section of society; and without that it would be hopeless to fight. So we had no course left but to throw everything over to the Curia.' Now, if the English Government had determined on taking a firm line in the matter, they would have been backed up very strongly indeed by public opinion."

¹ As a French politician of the Left said, when asked to back up a protest against the proceedings of the Vatican Council, "*Rome fait trop bien nos affaires pour qu'il soit de notre intérêt de lui créer des embarras.*"

Another point in which he severely criticised English policy, was our treatment of the Eastern question. In 1879 he was speaking at Tegernsee of the uselessness of attempting to renew the Reunion Conferences at Bonn. The cross divisions in the Eastern Churches, both ecclesiastically and politically, were so great as to render any such attempt hopeless. "A further difficulty arises," said he, "from the attitude which the English Government, ever since the Crimean war, has adopted in the East, as the upholder of the Turk in all things. England is now regarded in the East as the natural enemy of the Christian. That will prove a stumbling-block when Oriental Christians are asked to enter into communion with the English Church. That it is any use giving Turkey a chance of reformation and regeneration, I do not at all believe. But it would have been quite possible to give Turkey this chance without leaving Christian populations utterly at the mercy of the Turk. In 1856 not only were the Christians not protected, but what protection they had enjoyed up to that time was done away. The Turk knew that from henceforth he could do as he pleased. This has always been the weak place in Gladstone's armour: and, so far as I know, he has never made the only defence that was valid; that in 1856 he was only a subordinate member of the Government, and had to follow his superiors."

"No; what I think he says is, that twenty years ago it seemed to be worth while to give Turkey another chance of reform. Turkey has had the chance and has grown worse instead of better."

"That does not excuse the sacrifice of the Christians."

On more than one occasion I have chanced to dine with Dr. Dollinger on July 18th, the anniversary of the definition of the Infallibility; *dies Alliensis*, as by a strange coincidence it happens to be. In 1880 he told me that the ex-president of a Roman Catholic seminary, who had resigned

after the proclamation of the dogma, had recently asked him whether there was any hope that the new Pope would do anything for those who were conscientiously unable to accept the dogma, but otherwise wished to remain members of the Church, so that they might be able to obtain work. "I told him," said Dr. Döllinger, "that I was certain that there was not the smallest hope of anything of the kind. The present Pope would have conjured people not to pass the dogma; but now that it has been decreed he must hold to it."¹

"Don't you think," I asked, "that his making Newman a cardinal was intended to announce that Newman's minimizing of the dogma was henceforth to be an allowable interpretation."

He shook his head. "They do not know in Rome what Newman's theory of the dogma is: it is a cardinal rule there not to understand any English.² And they do not *care* what his theory is. Rome does not ask for *faith*; she asks for *obedience*. The question is, not, *Does he believe?* but, *Has he submitted?* Only submit, and you will not be asked about any explanations or reservations. The present Pope has tied his own hands and feet. He saw how much evil resulted from Pius IX. doing everything in an autocratic way, taking advice from a very small clique, and he promised the cardinals at the beginning of his pontificate that he would do nothing of importance without the consent of the

¹ A year or two later he said: "The present Pope prides himself on having made things more sure by being less pronounced. He fancies that his moderation is causing the Roman Church to be more firmly established. It remains to be seen whether he is right in thinking this."

² In April, 1879, he had written to me: "In Rome 'they have caught a Tartar' in making Newman a cardinal. If only the good people there knew how fundamentally anti-Romish—in spite of all protestations of submission (*Unterwerfungs-demonstrationen*)—Newman's theological modes of thought are! With all their curialistic cunning (*Pfiffigkeit*) there is *sancta simplicitas*." On another occasion he said that if Newman's writings had been known and understood in Rome, they would have put him on the Index instead of making him cardinal.

College. So there is no chance of a change for the better. Moreover every one who comes from Rome tells me that the general belief there is, that Franchi, the Pope's late secretary, was poisoned. The corpse was quite black; and as Franchi was a great deal too liberal in his opinions for the majority of the Curia, they would be glad to get him out of the way. This makes others who are of similar views very shy of displaying them. Among other points in which Leo XIII. has been obliged to give way, is that of keeping up the fiction of the Pope being a prisoner. He wishes to go into the country for a change of air, but the cardinals will not allow it. He must be an actor and keep to the part of 'the prisoner of the Vatican.' This tells on his health. Moreover he overworks himself, sitting up till one or two in the morning. His brother remonstrated with him about it, and the Pope replied, 'I must work for the Church'; to which his brother rejoined, 'The best thing that you can do for the Church is to take care of yourself and live as long as you can; for, when you die, things will be far worse.' If I were offered the Popedom, tiara, Vatican, and all, on the condition of never leaving the Vatican, I should say 'No, thank you; you may keep them for yourself.' I think that on one condition I would accept; that I might be allowed to make a clean sweep of all the cardinals and all the 600 members of the Curia, and start with a new set, who would not be the creatures of Pius IX."

During a walk in 1876 I asked him whether he thought that there would ever come a great crash as regards Vaticanism, or whether people would gradually and insensibly fall away from it.

"As regards that, I suppose one must distinguish between different nations and countries. Among the Romance nations there is no interest in the subject: in Italy, Spain, and Portugal they are *poco curanti*, quite indifferent. In France ultramontanism has this immense advantage, that

it is the only form of religion that exists : the rest of the nation is infidel or indifferent. And of this the clergy make good capital : they represent all attacks upon them as attacks upon Christianity. The bishops are continually doing this. With them it is never 'Rome,' or 'the Vatican,' or 'the Pope,' but 'the religion of Jesus Christ.' In Germany ultramontaniam has a somewhat similar advantage on account of the Falk laws. It is always maintained by the clergy, and the masses to a large extent believe them, that Catholics are persecuted for their religion by a Protestant and infidel Government. And this will continue for some time longer ; but it cannot go on for ever. People will begin to see more and more that it is not Catholics as such that are interfered with, but only the ultramontane system, which is subversive of all government, that is severely handled. In time it must be patent to all, that Catholics who will observe the laws are as free in Germany as elsewhere. If the Government remains firm for twenty years it will win : but there is no saying what a new emperor or a new chancellor may do. If a Pope should be elected who is willing to establish a *modus vivendi* with the kingdom of Italy, ultramontaniam will receive a great shock, and the moral influence of the Jesuit party in Europe must suffer accordingly. And if a *modus vivendi* is established between the Papacy and the Italian Government, the same is likely to follow in time with regard to the German Government. Even now it would be difficult for Rome to answer the question why what is allowed in Austria is forbidden in Germany. The Pope has declared that the laws of Austria are quite as abominable as those of Germany, and yet he orders the Austrian bishops to submit and the German bishops to rebel."

I asked the object of this policy.

"Because," said Dr. Dollinger, standing still, while a stern look came over his face (such as would come, when I e

was saying a thing, of the truth of which he was profoundly convinced), "because it has always been a principle with Rome to have only one enemy at a time. She never sets all the world at defiance at once. One power is flattered while another is attacked. But a time may come when Austria will unite with Germany, and under such pressure Rome may give way." .

"Bismarck has been giving himself much trouble to get various Governments to join with him in the attempt to exercise an influence on the election of the next Pope. He has tried to get Russia, Austria, and Italy to combine with Germany. In each case he has had no success whatever. None of the Governments will help him. Even if they would, it would be of no use. Bismarck is not sufficiently informed in these subjects. From his youth he has studied entirely different questions, and he does not know the conditions under which influence could be exercised in these matters. The only Government outside Italy which could exercise some small amount of influence is France. And France has got only four or five cardinals. In the case of Clement XIV. France determined the election. The Bourbons in France, Spain, and Naples combined to instruct the French, Spanish, and Neapolitan cardinals to prevent the election of every one but Ganganelli;¹ and as two-thirds are required to carry an election, these cardinals were quite numerous enough to accomplish their object. Once in the history of the Papacy the election has been in the hands of one man—the Emperor Philip II. He had two-thirds of the cardinals in his pocket. By giving them bishoprics and other lucrative posts, without compelling them to reside, he made it agreeable to them to do as he pleased. The Bourbons could do much to determine an election as long as they held the three thrones: but now no

¹ The conclave lasted three months, February to May, 1769, and there were 185 scrutinies.

Government could do anything by interfering. It is most unlikely that a foreigner should be elected. Manning has no chance: of the foreigners, a French cardinal would be chosen. A foreigner might remove the seat of the Papacy from Italy, and the Italian cardinals would not risk that. Moreover many of them are quite disposed to come to terms with the Italian Government. An Italian looks to the Government for promotion for his relations and friends. At present Italian ecclesiastics are entirely cut off from all the advantages which Government alone can grant.

"It is sometimes thought that Hadrian VI., the last foreign Pope, owed his election to the influence of his former pupil, Charles V. This is quite a mistake. The emperor never thought of his tutor, and used his influence in quite another direction. Hadrian of Utrecht owed his election to the impossibility of any other arrangement. The Italian cardinals could not agree as to any one Italian. Each Italian that was tried failed to obtain two-thirds of the votes, and at last in despair they accepted a foreigner as a compromise. Nothing of the kind is likely to happen now."

Among the things which at the present time dismayed Dr. Döllinger were the gross superstition and paganism in religion which are tolerated and even encouraged by the authorities in the Roman Church. In 1872 there was a prophecy current in Bavaria, that there would be a great and prolonged darkness some time in August. To provide against this darkness black tapers, specially blessed for the purpose, were being sold at Alt Oettingen, the favourite Bavarian place of pilgrimage; and a priest was going about Munich selling consecrated matches to light the consecrated tapers! After telling me about the prophecy, Dr. Döllinger went on to speak of La Salette, the French place of pilgrimage, where the Virgin is said to have appeared to two children, and to have made to them the incomprehensible announcement, "I am the Immaculate Conception."

Dr. Döllinger had been told by a cardinal some particulars respecting the success of this supposed miracle. When it was first reported, a vicar-general of the diocese of Grenoble, knowing that the whole thing was an imposture, went to Rome to warn the Pope against believing it. It would cause great scandal if the fiction received sanction. The woman who acted the imposture was a person of extravagant habits, and was known to have bought the brilliant attire, in which she appeared to the children, in Grenoble a short time before. Pius IX. received him well, and seemed quite to agree with him. Others, however, got the ear of the Pope, and brought the pretended miracle into connexion with his pet idea: the Virgin was represented as having told the boy and girl that the Pope was to be declared infallible. The vicar-general, when he next visited the Pope, was much surprised to find that he was received with great bitterness. He was told that a miracle had certainly taken place, and that he was doing very wrongly in trying to throw discredit upon it. Whether the woman acted spontaneously for a freak, or was inspired by persons who wanted such a miracle for their own purposes, was never clearly made out.

Dr. Döllinger severely condemned spasmodic and sensational efforts at religious revivals, with special reference to the gigantic pilgrimages and other theatrical displays which have been such favourite devices in France. In 1873 there was a huge pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial, in which bishops, generals, and deputies of the National Assembly took part, with white banners bearing a red heart and the words, *Arrête, le cœur de Jésus est là!* God was prayed to save France in the name of the Sacred Heart; a petition which Dr. Döllinger said reminded him of what he once saw in a village church, *vis.* a representation of the Trinity, and under this the words, "Holy Trinity, pray for us."

S. Florian in armour, pouring water out of a bucket on

to a blazing house, is a common object in Bavaria. According to the legend, S. Florian was condemned to be burned to death, but the faggot would not kindle, so he was beheaded instead, and became the patron saint of fire-brigades. "Do you know," continued Dr. Döllinger, "why S. Barbara is the patron saint of artillery? Because she was shut up in a tower."

"And a tower is round like a cannon?"

"Yes," said he, laughing; "that is it. When I was a lad at Würzburg, cannon were always fired on S. Barbara's day. And do you know why S. Catharine is the patron saint of philosophy?"

"Because she silenced the philosophers."

"Exactly. I remember that I was once sent by the Government to superintend an examination at Freising. Freising was the first attempt made by the clergy to form a theological college,—started by the Archbishop of Munich and others. The Government wanted to know what was going on there,—what was being taught; and I was sent as commissary. The teacher of philosophy was an old priest, who knew a little scholastic philosophy and had put together a catechism out of the schoolmen, which he dictated to the students, and they learnt the answers by heart. The first question was, *Quid est philosophia?* And the answer was, *Ea scientia cujus patrona est Sancta Catharina.* And I was expected to sit by and look serious during such an examination!"

ALFRED PLUMMER.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

XIX. DRAW NEAR! (CHAP. X. 19-31.)

IN what I have to say on the remainder of the epistle my object will be simply to notice those passages which touch and lend support to the leading idea of the doctrinal part—Christianity, the religion of unrestricted fellowship with God. In this connexion the exhortation which begins at ver. 19 of the tenth chapter claims special attention. It rests on and is expressed in terms of the central truth. "Christ has made it possible to have perfect fellowship with God; that is the objective significance of the Christian era. Therefore draw near, realize your privilege subjectively."

Draw near! that is the appropriate application of the whole foregoing argument, the goal to which the long train of thought has been leading up. Readers who have felt the force of the theoretical statement can do nothing else than come into the presence of God with filial trust and holy joy. They do not merely hope for free access as a future good. They consciously enjoy it now as a present possession. For that is implied in the exhortation *προσερχώμεθα*, "let us draw near." The thing is to be done now, the privilege can be enjoyed at once; if it be not, it be our own fault. There is thus a noteworthy advance at this point on the teaching in the sixth chapter, where the *summum bonum*, nearness to God, appears as a boon in store for us in the future. Christ has gone within the veil as our forerunner, and we shall follow Him by-and-by; but meantime we only cast into that sacred region the anchor of our hope. Now not hope, but full assurance of faith, making the future present, is the watchword. The increased boldness of tone befits the close of the argument intended to show that Christianity is the

perfect religion. And yet we are not to conceive of this boldness as something to which the writer has gradually worked himself up. It is but a return to his manner of speaking when he was on the threshold of his great demonstration that in Jesus Christ we have the true ideal Priest over the house of God (chap. iv. 16).

The exhortation to draw near is enforced by the two reasons, that there is an open way, and a powerful friend at court (vers. 20, 21). The terms in which the way of access is described are worthy of note. It is called *new* (*πρόσφατον*) and *living* (*ζῶσαν*). With reference to the former of these two epithets one has occasion to repeat the observation already more than once made in the course of our study of the epistle: how boldly the writer puts in the forefront just those features of the Christian religion which a timid prudence would take care to conceal! To the conservative mind of Hebrew readers enamoured of the ancient Levitical system, the novelty of the way might seem the reverse of a recommendation. Nevertheless the teacher hesitates not to proclaim with emphasis the fact that the way is new. And his boldness was never more completely justified. For in this case the contrast is not between a new, unfrequented path, and an old one, familiar and well-trodden; but rather between a new way and no way at all. While the veil existed, dividing the tabernacle into a holy place and an inaccessible most holy place, the way into God's presence was not opened up. Men were kept at a distance in fear, not daring to go beyond the door of the tent, or at farthest, in the case of ordinary priests, the screen which separated the outer from the inner compartment. To call the way new was simply to pronounce on Leviticalism a verdict of incompetence.

In the expression a "*living way*" we have an exhibition of boldness under another form. The writer not only dares to emphasize an unpopular aspect of the Christian religion by

the use of the term new, but has the courage in its praise to coin what on the surface appears an incongruous combination of ideas. For such courage all the New Testament writers had need. A "living way," "living stones": such expressions bear witness to the inadequacy of ordinary language to convey the truth concerning the good that came to the world by Jesus Christ. Bible writers laboured in expression, throwing out words and phrases with a certain sublime helplessness at an object passing human comprehension. And yet the meaning here is plain enough. The epithet "living" implies that God's presence is not now, as of old, restricted to any particular place. To be near Him we do not need to pass locally from one point in space to another. We draw nigh to God by right thoughts of His character, and by loving, trustful affections. When we think of Him as revealed to us in Christ, when we trust Him implicitly, as one who for Christ's sake forgiveth our sin, we are in His very presence. The way is living because it is spiritual, a way which we tread, not by the feet, but by the mind and the heart, as is hinted in ver. 22, where it is said, "Let us draw near with true heart and with full assurance of faith." The way is Christ Himself, the Revealer and the Reconciler, and we come to God through Him when we trust Him in both capacities.

Of the new and living way it is further affirmed that it has been consecrated for us by Jesus through the veil. It has been consecrated for us by being first used, trodden by Him. The expression, "through the veil" (*διὰ τοῦ καταπέτασματος*), suggests a double contrast. First, between the old and the new dispensations in respect of access to God. Under the Levitical system there was a veil which barred the way, so that beyond it no man but the high priest might go. Under the new economy there is no bar—the way lies right through the veil to the very presence of God. But, secondly, there is a contrast between

Christ and Christians not less than between the two dispensations. There is no veil for us, but there was a veil for our great High Priest. He opened up the way for us through the veil, pushing it aside, never again to be drawn across the entrance. What this means is explained in the words, "that is to say, His flesh." The thought of the writer seems to be that the veil through which Jesus had to pass, by the pushing aside of which He opened up an entrance into the Divine presence, was His mortal flesh. That is to say, in unfigurative terms, the truth taught is, that we owe our liberty Godwards to the fact that Christ took a body and passed with it into glory through a course of humiliation and suffering. There was a veil for Him, inasmuch as it behoved Him to suffer in the flesh, and so pass into glory; there is no veil for us, because the Just One suffered for the unjust, that He might bring them nigh to God. This conception of Christ's flesh as a veil is beautiful as a passing, poetic thought, but care must be taken not to press it too far. It "cannot, of course, be made part of a consistent and complete typology. It is not meant for this. But as the veil stood locally before the holiest in the Mosaic tabernacle, the way into which lay through it, so Christ's life in the flesh stood between Him and His entrance before God, and His flesh had to be rent ere He could enter."¹ The one truth to be laid to heart is, that our liberty of access cost Christ much. The making of the new way was no light matter for Him.

Having stated the grounds of the exhortation to draw near, the writer next describes the appropriate manner of

¹ Professor A. B. Davidson, p. 211. Bishop Westcott, in his recently published commentary on our epistle, points out the difficulties connected with the view that the veil means Christ's flesh, which he thinks so serious as to justify a departure from the universal exegetical tradition, to the effect of identifying Christ's flesh, not with the *veil*, but with the *way*. He renders "the entrance which He inaugurated for us, even a fresh and living way through the veil, that is to say, a way of His flesh."

heart, in full assurance of faith, not troubled from an evil conscience, and "pure water" (ver. 22). These four words are regarded, not in the light of legal requirements, but as an acceptable approach, but rather the state of mind which is congruous to the position of Christians. "Come thus; in the manner in which we can come so; it is fitting to take the exhortation. A parallel is found in this text in our epistle and Romans v. 2. "Therefore," exclaims the apostle, "justified by faith, we have peace with God; and let us joy in hope, yea, even in present tribulation, and, let us glory in God Himself." He means to say that, the justification being by faith, and not by legal works, a bright, buoyant, joyous mood is within the believers; life need not be a thing of gloom, and uncertainty. Even so here. We must be careful to read this verse as if it meant, take heed how ye come to the presence of God; see that ye come in a true state of mind and heart. It means rather, think of the way and of the powerful friend at court, and come gladly, assured of your welcome. All the phrases which indicate the manner of approach must be interpreted in this spirit.

With a true heart. This is commonly taken as equivalent to "in sincerity." I object to this rendering as too narrow, and moreover as leaning to legalism, making the expression point to requirement rather than to privilege. Literally translated, the words mean: "With a heart answering to the ideal" (*ἀληθινῆς*); that is to say, in the excellent words of Bishop Westcott, "a heart which fulfils the ideal office of the heart, the seat of the individual character, towards God." The question thus comes to be,

What sort of heart is that which realizes the ideal of worship, offering eloquent worship, blessing God with all that is within? An undivided, sincere heart, doubtless, but also something more. Besides sincerity there must be gladness, the gladness that is possible when men worship a God whom they can utterly trust and love. Along with this gladness begotten of faith go enthusiasm, generous self-abandonment, spontaneous service, rendered not slavishly, in mechanical compliance with rigid rules, but in the free spirit of sonship, the heart obeying no law but its own devoted impulses. In short, the direction, "with a true heart," must be analysed into two: with *heart*, as opposed to heartlessly; with a *true* heart, as opposed to half-heartedly or insincerely. I am persuaded that the writer of our epistle had in view the former not less, rather more, than the latter. It was not his purpose to insist so much on the subjective, ethical condition of an acceptable approach to God, as on the objective, religious condition of an approach which shall be real, involving actual, conscious fellowship with God. There is a latent contrast between the gladheartedness in worship which is possible to one who worships the Father whom Jesus revealed, and the depression and gloom inseparable from all religion that has for its object a God who hides Himself, and keeps His votaries far off. It would be false to say that the religion of Israel was joyless; on the contrary, in comparison with ethnic religions it was bright and happy. Witness the 100th Psalm, beginning, "Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all ye lands," and ending with that noble confession of faith which reveals the secret of the gladness: "For the Lord is good; His mercy is everlasting; and His truth endureth to all generations." But Israel's religion was joyous in spite of the peculiarities of the Levitical system of worship. Its many rules and restrictions, with penalties attached for transgression, its jealous arrangements for protecting the majesty of God, all tended to

engender an oppressive sense of solemnity, and a chilling feeling of fear. The spirit of the system was sombre and awe-inspiring.

Even if sincerity were the thing primarily intended by the requirement, "with true heart," it would still be necessary to interpret it widely, so as to include the gladness inspired by faith. For sincerity and gladness are closely allied: to have a sincere heart you must have a glad heart as well. Insincerity has two sources, the moral state of a corrupt heart, and the fear of a timid true heart. A religion of fear makes the best men hypocrites, feigning sentiments which they do not feel. The formalism of such a religion tends to aggravate the evil. There is so much routine duty, that worshippers almost inevitably get into a way of putting exact compliance with the rubric in the place of worship "in spirit and in truth." Indeed, it may be affirmed that the votaries of crude cults have no conception of worshipping in spirit or in truth. The very notion of sincerity is possible only when God is conceived of as good and as Spirit: His goodness drawing out the heart into eloquent utterance of adoration, trust, and love, His spirituality emancipating the conscience from bondage to form.

In the light of these remarks we comprehend why our author, having said "with true heart," goes on next to say "in full assurance of faith." He simply indicates by this second expression that which makes the glad, sincere heart possible: absolute, unqualified confidence, without any doubt of a gracious reception. It is implied that such confidence is justified by the facts mentioned in the preamble to the exhortation.

In the first two specifications spiritual truth is expressed in spiritual language. The third and fourth, on the other hand, are stated in typological terms suggested by the Levitical rules of purification by blood and water to be observed by the priests. When Aaron and his sons were

consecrated to the priesthood, they were sprinkled with the blood of sacrifices. They were also washed with water.¹ It was, further, the duty of the priests to wash their hands and feet in the brazen laver every time they entered the tabernacle or approached the altar.² How then are we to understand these two last clauses in the directory for Christian worship? Are we to find in them nothing more than a graceful allusion to Levitical ritual? or shall we extract from them merely the general idea that Christians have all the privilege and standing of priests, yea, of high priests coming into the very presence of God? There can be little doubt that the writer does intend to suggest that idea. He says in effect: Draw near priest-like, for priests indeed you *are*. But it is reasonable to suppose that he also means to indicate in what priestlikeness consists; in other words, that he attaches some definite, practical sense to the specifications, "having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water."

It is not difficult to determine to what the former points. The heart sprinkled from an evil conscience is synonymous with the conscience purged from dead works (ix. 14). The state described is that of a heart or a conscience which has experienced the full effect of Christ's sacrifice, taken in all the latitude assigned to it in a previous paper, as embracing the pardon of sin, moral renewal, and deliverance from the dominion of a legal spirit.³ It is not so easy to decide what precisely is signified by the body "washed with pure water." The meaning is plain in reference to the Levitical type, but what is the corresponding fact in the spiritual sphere? The common reply to the question is, Christian baptism. The suggestion is tempting, and even not destitute of probability; and yet one cannot help feeling that, if baptism

¹ Exod. xxix. 4.

² Exod. xxx. 19-21.

³ THE EXPOSITOR for March, 1890, pp. 232-237.

was in the writer's mind, it would have been easy and natural for him to have indicated his thought by the addition of a word. I doubt if this final specification serves any purpose beyond expressing the thoroughness of the cleansing process undergone by a Christian man who surrenders himself completely to the redeeming influence of Christ. The whole man, body, soul, and spirit, becomes purified, consecrated, transfigured, a veritable king and priest of God. The two clauses express together one thought. "The rhetorical balance of parts must not be made a doctrinal distinction of effects."¹

Such then is the ideal state and standing of the Christian worshipper, the manner of approach to God possible and real for one who understands and appreciates his position as living in the era of the better hope through which we draw nigh to God. He can and does come into the Divine presence with gladness and sincerity, with heart and with the whole heart, having no doubt at all of his welcome, and untroubled by the thought of his sin, being assured of forgiveness and conscious of Christ's renovating power; he comes in the evangelic, filial spirit of thankfulness, not in the legal spirit of a slave; asking not, How may I satisfy the exacting demands of an austere Deity? but, "What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits?" This is the type of Christian piety which prevails at all times when the intuition of God's grace in Christ is restored. It was pre-eminently the prevailing type in the apostolic age among all who understood the epoch-making significance of Christ's work, and the extent to which He made all things new. But, alas! the difficulty is to remain up in that sunny region, or indeed ever to get up to it, away out of the low-lying, unhealthy valleys of legalism, filled with mist and gloom.

The Hebrew Church, to which our epistle was addressed,

¹ Professor A. B. Davidson, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 213.

Government could do anything by interfering. It is most unlikely that a foreigner should be elected. Manning has no chance: of the foreigners, a French cardinal would be chosen. A foreigner might remove the seat of the Papacy from Italy, and the Italian cardinals would not risk that. Moreover many of them are quite disposed to come to terms with the Italian Government. An Italian looks to the Government for promotion for his relations and friends. At present Italian ecclesiastics are entirely cut off from all the advantages which Government alone can grant.

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Dr. Döllinger severely condemned spasmodic and sensational efforts at religious revivals, with special reference to the gigantic pilgrimages and other theatrical displays which have been such favourite devices in France. In 1873 there was a huge pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial, in which bishops, generals, and deputies of the National Assembly took part, with white banners bearing a red heart and the words, *Arrête, le cœur de Jésus est là!* God was prayed to save France in the name of the Sacred Heart; a petition which Dr. Döllinger said reminded him of what he once saw in a village church, *viz.* a representation of the Trinity, and under this the words, "Holy Trinity, pray for us."

S. Florian in armour, pouring water out of a bucket on

upon the temple, and said: "Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down." If our author was conversant with our Lord's prophecy, we cannot be surprised at the tragic style in which he depicts the horrors of that day, winding up with the reflection, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." It was a fearful thing indeed for Israel in those years. And it would be a fearful thing for the Hebrew Christians also, if they apostatised; for then they would inevitably share the fate of the guilty nation. And surely most righteously! For how great would be their guilt!—greater than that of men who in ancient times transgressed Moses' law, greater than that of their contemporaries who had never believed in Jesus, the greatest guilt possible. For what greater crime can be conceived than to tread underfoot the Son of God, to treat the precious blood of Christ shed for man's redemption as a common thing, and to do outrage to the Spirit of grace? Of all this, it is rightly held, he is guilty who, having once believed, apostatises. He once worshipped Jesus as the Son of God, and now he curses Him; he once believed that Jesus died, the Just for the unjust: now he thinks of Christ's death as that of a common man, or even of a criminal; he once was a partaker of the Holy Ghost, and now he laughs at his former religious experience as a hallucination.

Two points in this sombre passage, of exegetic interest for one who is mainly concerned with the theology of the epistle, may now be noticed. One is the combination here, as in chapter ix. 14, of blood with spirit. The "blood of the covenant," the "Spirit of grace." Here they appear as distinct sources of sanctification. But in the writer's mind, as in truth, they are closely allied. The blood is the blood of Christ, the Spirit is the spirit of Christ. He is the Spirit through whose inspiration Christ shed His blood, and He is the Spirit who passes into the hearts of all that

believe in Christ, and thus becomes a renewing influence. The other point is the unique title for the Spirit—the Spirit of *grace*. The question arises, How is the designation to be understood? Does it mean the Spirit who imparts grace, or the Spirit who is Himself the gift of God's grace? Formally distinct, the two meanings run into each other. The Spirit's presence is felt as an energy, producing effects through which God's grace is manifested. The more important question is, What is the nature of the effects? Are they *ethical*, or merely *charismatical*? Does the grace of which the Spirit is the vehicle consist in the power to speak with tongues and to do other supernatural acts, or in the power to live holy lives? In the former case, we should have to recognise a difference between the doctrine of the Spirit taught in our epistle and that contained in Paul's epistles, according to which the Holy Spirit, while the source of miraculous charisms, is, before all things, the immanent ground of Christian sanctity. I do not think any such difference exists. I believe that the writer of this epistle, if not a disciple of Paul, is at least in sympathy with Paul in his conception of the Spirit's work. As was meet in one who had so enlightened a view as to the absolute worth of the good that came to the world through Jesus Christ, he uses repeatedly the word "grace," and in most instances he employs it in an ethical sense: as in the expression, "the throne of grace"¹; in the saying, "it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace"²; and in the concluding prayer, "grace be with you all."³ There is little reason to doubt that he uses it in the same sense here. It has been remarked that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews does not speak of the Spirit's influence among Christians in so lively a way as Paul.⁴ That may be; but the explanation of the fact is probably to be

¹ Chap. iv. 16.² Chap. xiii. 9.³ Chap. xiii. 25.⁴ Vide Ewald, *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, iii. 400.

found, not in any supposed abatement of the Spirit's power in the subapostolic generation,¹ but in the circumstance that the Pauline doctrine of the Spirit had become, when our epistle was written, the common possession of the Church.

A. B. BRUCE.

EPHESUS.

A POSTSCRIPT.

My paper in *THE EXPOSITOR* for June, and the conjecture which I ventured to lay before its readers, will have done good service, if only by eliciting the interesting observations on "Saint Paul at Ephesus" which Professor Ramsay contributed to these pages last month. His acquaintance with the geography and the antiquities of proconsular Asia is so thorough, that his criticisms and remarks upon my paper could not fail to be valuable and suggestive.

This is not the place for controversy, and I am writing these lines under circumstances which preclude any reference to my books and papers. But I should like to add a few words by way of postscript to my previous paper, and in order to remove one or two misconceptions of my meaning which may be entertained by Professor Ramsay.

1. My chief object was to suggest the identification of the Demetrius of the inscription with the silversmith of Acts xix. That identification stands or falls with the date to be assigned to the inscription. Professor Ramsay was inclined at first, as I was myself, to assign both the documents engraved on the marble to the same date, *viz.* the

¹ So Ewald in *l.c.* Ewald seems to regard the doctrine of the Spirit in the Epistle to the Hebrews as essentially Pauline.

second century. Upon examining the marble, he has reversed his judgment, and places the Demetrius inscription a century earlier than the other. I still think that its date is earlier than the time of Vespasian, and may be contemporaneous with St. Paul. I am however well aware that, when the only evidence is that of the lettering, our judgment must be cautious. And although I have had the handling of inscribed Ephesian marbles so habitually, I am not prepared to dogmatize on a point like this. I do but express my opinion; I still think the lettering of this document earlier in character than the lettering of the *Salutaris* documents of A.D. 104, perhaps by half a century.¹

2. If Demetrius the silversmith of the Acts was also the temple-warden of the inscription, I still think the fact would throw new light upon the narrative of the uproar. I should be sorry to be misunderstood to say that the annoyance of the silversmiths was not the cause and occasion of the riot. On the contrary, I accept the narrative of St. Luke as entirely true to human nature, and true to historical fact. At Ephesus, as elsewhere, the consequences of the new teaching were first felt by the pocket; pecuniary interests began to be threatened, and immediately an indignant outcry was raised against the apostle. But if the preaching of St. Paul—though he never denounced the goddess Artemis, nor outraged the sentiments of her worshippers,—yet began to have such effect as to rouse the apprehensions of the silversmith, surely it was likely also that the hierarchy of the temple, whose wealth was drawn from the gifts, the sacrifices, the dedications of worshippers, would not be unconscious of

¹ Professor Ramsay suggests that *εσσηνεύσας ἀγρῶς* refers to ceremonial purity. This is quite possible, and had occurred to me. I preferred however to translate *ἀγρός* (-ῶς) in its well-known sense, in which it is the recognised equivalent of the Latin *integer*, in reference to the honest and upright conduct of a public official. This use is well known both from coins and inscriptions.

the new influence. To the spontaneous outburst of opposition proceeding from the threatened metal-workers there would be superadded a tributary stream of opposition from the temple itself. And if, as I conjectured, Demetrius was not only the head of a large firm or guild of image-makers, but also the chief warden of the temple fabric,¹ then (as I ventured to suggest) we had a hint given us that the riot which began with the artisans, and was prompted by their jealous fears for their trade-interests, was further abetted by the influence of the temple authorities. Certainly if Professor Ramsay thinks that I exaggerate the indifference of the Roman officials towards the local cults, I think that he over-rates the tolerance of the local hierarchies. The famous letter of Pliny surely points not only to the impatience of the sellers and graziers of sacrificial animals, but also of the temples and the priests, at the serious inroads made by Christianity upon pagan devotions. Nor should we forget that Ephesus was a large city, and the theatre which received the mob is reckoned by its excavator, Mr. Wood, to have held over 20,000 people. "The whole city," says the writer (ver. 29), "was filled with confusion"; and without pressing this and similar expressions unduly, it may be urged that the narrative by no means excludes the idea that the meeting which began under the presidency of Demetrius (ver. 25), and which then, fired with his address, rushed off intent on violence (vers. 28, 29), was swelled by accessions from other sources and from other parts of the city. It was not a "got up" demonstration. All was entirely spontaneous. It does not detract from the truthfulness of the narrative, nor from the spontaneous origin of the tumult, if it be

¹ I did not mean to imply that νεωκότος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος was an official phrase. *Neokótos* at Ephesus always, so far as I know, occurs alone, without such qualification. But its reference is none the less to the Artemisium in particular. This appears from abundant evidence.

proved or suggested that there was inflammable material other than the threatened interests of the Ephesian artisans, and others beside Demetrius who were ready to fan the flame which he had kindled.

3. Most interesting is the suggestion made by Professor Ramsay in answer to my question, What were the "silver shrines"? He points to the existence of terra-cotta shrines of Artemis and similar deities elsewhere in Asia, such as were manufactured, and sold, for the purpose of dedication. Here, again, I do not dogmatize; it is a question of evidence. If Professor Ramsay can untie the knot, it is better than to cut it, as I was proposing to do, by a conjectural alteration of the text. But I should like to see and handle some specimens of metal shrines of Artemis discovered at Ephesus. So far as I am aware, none are as yet to be produced. In default of such metal shrines, or of any mention of them elsewhere than in this passage, I made bold to suggest metal statuettes. Such metal statuettes of Ephesian Artemis are well known in modern museums, and I pointed to the catalogue of silver statuettes of Artemis dedicated at Ephesus in A.D. 104. These appear to have belonged to Salutaris for some time before, and he dedicates them, not to the temple, but to the civic authorities, to enable them in their own processions to render new honour to the national goddess. These facts seemed to point rather to statuettes than to shrines. But if sufficient evidence is forthcoming to explain what is meant by these metal shrines (*vaot*), then I should be the first to welcome a satisfactory explanation of a passage of the Acts which has perplexed me not a little, and where I have always felt that the commentators (from St. Chrysostom to our own days) were quite at fault.

4. Let this suffice to make clear one or two points in my own paper, and by way of thanks to Professor Ramsay for his criticisms, and for the contributions he has made

toward the exposition of the Acts. For, assuredly, that nineteenth chapter marks a momentous period in the work of the apostle and in the propagation of the Christian faith. When St. Paul left Antioch for Ephesus (Acts xviii. 23), it has been well said¹ that "he by no means undertook a new missionary journey, but changed his residence permanently from Antioch to Ephesus." Here he resides for nearly three years, the longest period he had ever spent in continuous preaching at any one city. This long stay may probably have been broken by brief visits to Corinth and elsewhere; but it is noteworthy that the Churches of the Lycus, which we may suppose to have received the gospel from converts of St. Paul during this period, had yet never been visited by him in person. Ephesus itself supplied him with ample opportunities and over-abundant toils. Here, in the capital of proconsular Asia, he could be in communication with all the towns of the province; here, in a seaport which was on the highway between East and West, he was in touch with Europe and Asia at once. No wonder if he writes of his work, "a great door and effectual is opened unto me" (1 Cor. xvi. 9). It is true "there are many adversaries." The Jewish fanatics dogged his steps and threatened his life (Acts xx. 19); it was like fighting with wild beasts (1 Cor. xv. 32). He could not, moreover, be unaware of the storm that threatened him from the side of pagan zeal. Other references to this time speak of it as a time of "many tears" (Acts xx. 19), and of terrible bodily danger and suffering (2 Cor. i. 8 foll.). But none the less (nay, all the more) it was a time of mighty spiritual success. It is, in a sense, the culmination of the apostle's career. His faith, his hope, gather strength. The accession of miraculous powers which came upon him at this time (Acts xix. 11) seems to be in accord, not only with the greatness of the occasion, or the force of spiritual opposi-

¹ Weiss, *Introduction to N.T.* (Eng. Tr.), i. 249.

tion, but also with an accession of spiritual strength in the apostle's own soul. In the letters which he writes at this period of his life there is a sense of exultant effort and of anticipated triumph. "Now can he see, . . . and his heart fears, and is enlarged," at the prospect of the advancing gospel. It was significant that he had transferred his basis of operations to this great city of western Asia. But already his horizon is extending farther westward. "I must see Rome" (Acts xix. 21). From the capital of Asia his eyes turn to the capital of the world (Rom. i. 13). Nor is it unworthy of note that the riot at Jerusalem, which was the original cause of his being carried a prisoner to Rome, and thus strangely fulfilling his desire, arose out of the fanaticism of Ephesian Jews. His Ephesian dangers and triumphs followed him to Jerusalem. It was "the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple," who "stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him. . . . For they had seen before with him in the city Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple" (Acts xxi. 27, 29). But, in truth, the arrest at Jerusalem and the imprisonment at Cæsarea are but episodes in the great drama. The next movement in the apostle's life, after his labours in Asia, is to Italy. It is this which St. Luke desires his readers to perceive. The ministry at Ephesus is succeeded, in effect, by the ministry at Rome.

E. L. HICKS.

*SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE ON THE
NEW TESTAMENT.*

TEXTUAL CRITICISM.—A book which has cost its author so much labour and time as Mr. Hoskier must have spent on his deserves at least to have its title given in full. It is this: "*A Full Account and Collation of the Greek Cursive Codex Evangelium 604. With Two Facsimiles. Together with Ten Appendices, containing* (A) The Collation of a Manuscript in his own possession. (B) A reprint with corrections of Scrivener's list of differences between the editions of Stephen 1550 and Elzevir 1624, Beza 1565 and the Complutensian. (C) A full and exact comparison of the Elzevir editions of 1624 and 1633. (D) Facsimile of Codex Paul. 247 (Cath. Eps. 210), with correction of previous descriptions. (E) Report of a visit to the Philipps MSS. (F) Report of a visit to the Public Library at Bâle, with Facsimile of Erasmus' second MS. Evan. 2, and a collation of Codex Apoc. No. 15. (G) Report of a visit to the Public Library at Geneva, with corrections of Cellerier's collation of Evan. 75, as supplied to Scholz. (H) Report of a visit to the Library of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., with information concerning the sacred Greek codices there. (I) Some further information concerning Codex 1*, an Evangelistary at Andover, Mass., U.S.A. (J) Note on 1 Tim. iii. 15. By Herman C. Hoskier."

Mr. Hoskier tells us that this book, which might be supposed to represent years of toil, has been produced in the leisure hours of an active commercial life. Truly, professional scholars must look to their laurels. Mr. Hoskier's industry has been stimulated by a desire to abate confidence in Dr. Hort's authority and to impart

the wholesome belief that we are yet in the infancy of scientific knowledge of the genealogical relations of MSS. To whatever school of criticism Mr. Hoskier's readers belong, they will not deny him a front place among textual critics. Certainly he has the capacity for attending to minutiae and for sustained accuracy of observation, which are more requisite in this than in most other studies. It may induce some to consult his book, to know that in the MS. which forms its main subject there are no fewer than two hundred and fifty readings. It is a duty of the rich to buy such books, but perhaps Mr. Hoskier does well to rely upon Bengel's saying, "Die grösste Frucht unserer Arbeit ist oft die Arbeit selbst."

INTRODUCTION.—The interest taken in the ascertainment of the origin of our gospels has during the last few months been manifested by the publication of two contributions to the literature of the subject. The first is *The Composition of the Four Gospels: a Critical Inquiry*, by Rev. Arthur Wright, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Queens' College, Cambridge (Macmillan & Co.). The idea of the book is given in its opening sentences; "Education in the East, I am told, still consists largely in learning by heart the maxims of the wise. The teacher sits on a chair, the pupils arrange themselves at his feet. He dictates a lesson; they copy it on their slates, and repeat it till they have mastered it. Then the task is over; the slates are cleaned and put by for future use." The first of the teachers of the Christian gospel was St. Peter, by whom many who themselves became catechists were taught. A second cycle of teaching was initiated by St. Matthew, and a third by an unknown Paulinist; and these three cycles of catechising are *represented* by the gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke respectively. This scheme is obviously open to criticism at various points; Mr. Wright, however, has not only written a very interesting and stimulating book, but has made some

critical remarks which must enter into future discussion of the subject. His standpoint is that of free and reverential criticism.

The other contribution is from the Unitarian standpoint, and bears the name of Prof. Estlin Carpenter. It is published by the Sunday-school Association, and is entitled *The First Three Gospels: their Origin and Relations*. This is a book of marked ability. It has been written after the most careful preparation. The material is thoroughly digested, and is presented in an almost perfect form. No book in English gives so adequate a presentation of the present results of criticism as regards the gospels. But in our judgment the whole book is vitiated by the author's point of view. It will be with the greatest regret that many who have desiderated a thoroughly competent treatment of the gospels will find that a writer who has all the knowledge, critical tact, and faculty of lucid statement which mark him out as the man to give us this, has failed to do so through his adoption of what cannot but be condemned as extreme, if not biassed, views. The book Prof. Carpenter has given us is full of suggestion and of most illuminating criticism, but it also abounds in unverifiable statements and misleading principles. His treatment of the fourth gospel is not so unworthy of the name of criticism as Dr. Martineau's useless pages on it in *The Seat of Authority*; but what can be said of a critic who finds "all local colour" blanché away from the fourth gospel? If ever literary texture was dyed in the wool it is the fourth gospel. Had Prof. Carpenter gone over the gospel for himself verse by verse he would have been saved from falling a victim to theories of its origin which are contradicted in every chapter of the book itself. With the sincerest admiration for the critical and literary ability which marks this thoroughly business-like and scholarly volume, we cannot recommend it as a trustworthy introduction to the

gospels, and we are sure that those who know the subject best will read it with mingled pleasure and pain.

EXEGESIS.—It is not every year, even in this busy age, which is signalized by the appearance of a commentary representing so much well-applied scholarship and thought as Dr. Westcott's *The Epistle to the Hebrews: the Greek Text, with Notes and Essays* (Macmillan & Co.). To our thinking this is an even richer volume than the same author's work on the fourth gospel. It has no doubt the defects of its qualities: the multitudinous divisions and sub-divisions occasionally bewilder rather than enlighten, the mass of detail sometimes destroys the perspective. There is a lack in the volume of an occasional gathering up of results and vivid presentation of the force of the argument. The meaning is attended to verse by verse and even paragraph by paragraph, but one is not throughout in sensible contact with the writer of the epistle, animated by his purpose, and as eager as himself to see the evolution and result of his argument. Many readers also will resent the constant reference to the Fathers, and the almost total absence of reference to such modern students of the epistle as Bleek, Bruce, and Davidson. None of these is superseded by Dr. Westcott's work. Bleek still stands as the quarry out of which all students of the epistle will continue to borrow material. Dr. Bruce has succeeded in laying bare the inmost aim and spirit of the book, and in vitalizing its every part. Dr. Davidson has packed into a small and unpretending volume as much insight and knowledge and exegetical tact as would have made the fortune of a more ambitious commentary and as will train in interpretation many a future student. Dr. Westcott's work, notwithstanding these other able commentaries, has a right to exist, and occupies a place of its own, and combines so many of the merits of other books that it is bound to become a favourite. It maintains the reputation of

Cambridge for exact scholarship; it maintains also the English tradition of sober interpretation and patristic learning; it is the work of a sound and able theologian, the ripest product of a mind which for half a century has been receiving the most efficient training for it.

On the same epistle Dr. Vaughan has also recently published. His contribution is on the same lines as his volume on *Romans*, and is entitled *The Epistle to the Hebrews, with Notes* (Macmillan & Co.). His aim is to ascertain the exact meaning and usage of the words by adducing parallel passages from the LXX. and the New Testament. It is an applied concordance with suitable inferences. For thorough study few methods can be more useful, and Dr. Vaughan is so skilled an adept in this particular style of commentary, that he brings before his reader much that is instructive and that cannot elsewhere be found. His book is particularly useful as indoctrinating the young student in a method which he can himself carry out with no other aids than a good lexicon and concordance. By aiming only at one part of the interpreter's work Dr. Vaughan succeeds in doing it thoroughly. As an introduction to a healthy and sound method of working at the New Testament, this book cannot be too strongly recommended.

We welcome another volume on the New Testament from the hand of the Rev. William Spicer Wood, who, some years ago, issued an original and ingenious discussion of some passages in the Epistle to the Galatians. His present contribution is named *Problems in the New Testament*, and consists of twenty-five short and thorough discussions of difficult passages. This kind of book is much required. Why should a scholar dissipate his energy by remarking on every verse in a gospel or an epistle, whether he has anything fresh to say on it or not? Far better is it to follow the example so finely set in Field's *Otium Norvicense*, and discuss only such passages as the writer knows he has fresh

light upon. Mr. Wood's book is excellent of its kind. Widely and accurately read in the classics, he has a fine sense for grammar, and can generally justify by examples his renderings and interpretations. Occasionally he is carried away by his ingenuity, although in this respect he has been progressing since he published his former book. There are still some passages regarding which we decidedly think his interpretation wrong; but even when he is wrong, he invests the subject with interest and brings fresh material to its discussion. We cordially congratulate Mr. Wood on his volume, and trust the reception it meets with will induce him to continue his studies and their publication.

Prebendary Sadler continues his commentary with unflagging industry. The recently published volume deals with *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Colossians, Thessalonians, and Timothy*. Mr. Sadler's point of view and style are now sufficiently well known; and it need not be said that in commenting on 2 Thessalonians his views regarding Antichrist differ from those propounded by ardent Protestants. His comments in general are a good combination of the critical and edifying.

The book of Revelation still attracts commentators; and the Rev. Alexander Brown, of Aberdeen, has published a thoroughly sensible guide to its interpretation. Proceeding on the understanding that the encouragements of the book were intended for the writer's contemporaries, and that these contemporaries would understand the symbolic language used, Mr. Brown finds the fulfilment of its predictions in the generation that saw the fall of Jerusalem. In applying this key to the meaning of particular passages he is remarkably successful. Sobriety and sense characterize the interpretation throughout, and no one can read the small volume without feeling increased hopefulness about the understanding of a book which is virtually sealed

to most readers. *The Great Day of the Lord* is published by Messrs. Hamilton, Adams & Co., and deserves to be widely read.

EXPOSITION.—Dr. Laidlaw, Professor of Theology in the New College, Edinburgh, and well known to theological readers as the author of a standard work on *The Bible Doctrine of Man*, has published a volume entitled *The Miracles of our Lord: Expository and Homiletic* (Hodder & Stoughton). There was undoubtedly room for such a treatment of the miracles. It was time that the results of exegesis should be gathered up and popularized; and this is most successfully done in the present volume. It is characterized by ample knowledge, by caution and sense in interpretation, and by practised skill in discerning the points best fitted for popular instruction. By those who wish to save themselves the trouble of independent research the volume may be relied on as presenting in a well-digested form all that they could learn by investigations of their own. It should prove a favourite with overtaxed preachers and with all lay readers.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Since 1874 Dr. Emil Schürer's *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte* has taken rank as the most reliable and comprehensive book on its subject, and as an indispensable part of the apparatus of the New Testament student. The new edition of this authoritative work is virtually a new book. Even what is retained of the old is generally rewritten, and a very large amount of new matter is introduced. So that, satisfactory as the original edition seemed, and difficult as it might have been for any other scholar to lay his finger on blanks and suggest additions, it is rendered obsolete by Dr. Schürer's own diligence and learning. It is from this revised edition, and simultaneously with its publication, that Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh, have made their translation. The first volume, which contains the political history of Palestine

from B.C. 175 to the time of Herod the Great, has been rendered into English by the very competent hand of Rev. John Macpherson, who has also made useful additions to the already rich and serviceable bibliography of Schürer. Other three volumes of the translation have already been published, and one more will complete it. To praise such a work would be impertinent, and to commend it is needless save to very young students.

To any who seek information regarding the same period as Schürer deals with, but in a shorter and more popular form than the German scholar has adopted, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, by W. D. Morrison, can be very confidently recommended. It is one of Mr. Fisher Unwin's "Story of the Nations" series, and can stand comparison with the best of that goodly troop. Mr. Morrison has consulted the best modern authorities, notably Mommsen and Duruy, but there is abundant evidence that he has also for himself gone to the sources. He most justly observes that "a work of this nature will serve the purpose of shedding more light upon the Christian documents handed down to us in the New Testament, and will also assist us in forming a more accurate estimate of primitive and apostolic Christianity." The book consists of two parts, the first giving the history of the period, the second exhibiting the social and religious life. It deserves a wide circulation, and might with great advantage be used as a text-book in schools and colleges.

The Hereafter, by James Fyfe (T. & T. Clark), contains a large amount of exegetical matter. The first part of the volume exhibits the beliefs of ancient peoples regarding a world to come, not always drawn perhaps from first-rate authorities, but in the main correctly given and conveniently arranged. Archæology is also made to yield its testimony, and the doctrine and phraseology of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament are discussed at length. In the second part, the Scripture doc-

trine of retribution is expounded, objections to it answered, and the theories of universal restoration and conditional immortality discussed. There is a very large amount of ground gone over, and occasionally points are handled with greater minuteness than there is any occasion for; but this is a fault which perhaps leans to virtue's side. A little more literary skill however in maintaining a due proportion between the parts of the book would no doubt have made it easier reading. Still it is a storehouse of material for any inquirer into this difficult branch of theology. The criticism is candid and unbiassed, and the thinking quite independent. The conclusion arrived at favours the traditional view, or at least the traditional view as held by reasonable men. It is a book that ought not to be lost sight of in a discussion which is likely to be long-continued. If a second edition is called for, the proof should be more carefully corrected.

Attention ought to be drawn to a somewhat remarkable attempt to re-write the life of Christ. It is published anonymously by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited, under the title *Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth*. It is "written in short, realistic pictures, endeavouring to avoid theology and sectarianism, that mothers of all creeds may read it to their children, and that children in later life may read it for themselves." Experiment has proved that the book meets the approval of children both of younger and of older growth. Indeed there are frequent passages in the narrative which fascinate by their picturesque and quite fresh presentation of familiar scenes. A mind alert and imaginative is revealed on every page. A single expression often breaks out a window for us, and gives us quite a new glimpse into the real atmosphere of the life of Jesus. That every chapter is wrongly dated is a great misfortune, not so much in itself, as because it may deter some from trusting the realistic detail woven into the story.

Such distrust will be out of place. Careful study has evidently been spent upon details. The book deserves a place in every Christian family.

Among sermons of recent publication there is at least one volume which is likely to win some permanence of regard: *The Great Alternative, and other Sermons*, by Rev. Charles Moinet, M.A., Kensington (Hodder & Stoughton). They are quite unlike the sermons which now-a-days make a bid for popularity, and are absolutely devoid of everything sensational or rhetorical. They depend rather on a manly dignity and reasonableness, and on an unaffected originality both in their subjects and in their style. The religion of Christ in contact with the individual and with society has been Mr. Moinet's study. He is strongly evangelical, and resolutely abides by the old lines, yet without any appearance of narrowness. On the contrary, one feels as he reads these strong and nervous pages how fully evangelical doctrine accords with the width and variety of human nature and of human life. Few volumes of sermons are so fitted to win respect to the pulpit.

Prof. Gretillat, of Neuchatel, has issued with Attinger Frères of that town the fourth volume of his *Exposé de Théologie Systematique*, which may be described as the most easily read and entertaining system of theology ever published. This present volume comprises soteriology and eschatology, and is certainly not less interesting than its predecessors. It has the same light but decisive touch, the same impartiality, the same accuracy in exegesis. While refuting universalism and conditionalism, Prof. Gretillat inclines to the belief that Scripture has not furnished us with material for definitely determining the fate of the wicked.

A frequent and esteemed contributor to these pages, Prof. Beet, has published his Fernley Lecture, delivered last autumn, under the title, *The Credentials of the Gospel*

(Wesleyan Methodist Book Room). If the forces marshalled in defence of the Christian position by Mr. Beet are the same veterans whose colours and facings have been seen before, they certainly present under his command a new front, and the old weapons have been altered into arms of precision. He aims at proving that the *gospel* is true, and in order to accomplish this he reviews its suitability to the needs of man, exhibits the inadequacy of nature and of other religions to satisfy these needs, and sets in a convincing light the historical basis of Christianity. The hinge on which the argument turns is the resurrection of our Lord ; and this is handled in a wise, well-informed, and conclusive manner. There is much that is freshly thought and admirably put throughout the book ; and however well read in apologetic literature any one is, he will find much to interest and much to convince in the chapters which deal with the resurrection and the miraculous. At this point Prof. Beet makes a distinct advance in the argument, and deserves the thanks of all who are interested in the defence of Christianity. The book is throughout written in an admirable style.

MARCUS DODS.

PROFESSOR ELMSLIE.

My acquaintance with Professor Elmslie began in the end of the year 1868, when I arrived in Edinburgh from Australia, to begin my theological studies at the New College. When the classes met he was pointed out to me as the best man of our year, the winner of the highest scholarship at the entrance examination, and the best student of his time at Aberdeen. He was then a smallish, fair-haired youth, with a singularly bright and keen expression, and there was something about his face which then and afterwards reminded me greatly of what Chaucer tells us of his own appearance. For Elmslie too was "small and faire of face," and seemed "elvish by his countenance." When I came to know him well, I always thought this fancy to have been just; for in many respects, in his cheerful courage, in his humour, in his keen observation and amused tolerance of the pettinesses and weaknesses of human nature, and in the graphic power with which he could depict them, he recalled, *longo intervallo* of course, but still he did recall, the most human and humorously keen of all our poets.

As a stranger, coming from what was then considered almost a foreign land, I did not easily learn to know the Scottish students. It was consequently far on in the session before I made Elmslie's acquaintance, though he sat within one place of me in Dr. Davidson's class-room. The man who separated us was not interested in Hebrew, and whenever he was called upon in the class, he turned in haste, first to Elmslie on his right hand, and then to me on his left, seeking material to satisfy his keen, and some-

times sarcastic, examiner. At first we gave him what help he needed ; but at last his interruptions became intolerable, and we simultaneously determined to eject our tormentor. Co-operation in this delicate manoeuvre made us known to each other, and from that time till the end of our Edinburgh career we practically had all things in common—work, amusements, and interests.

But at first, for a short time, I did not think it would be so. For a week or two I could get nothing from him but jocularities of various kinds. This provoked me greatly ; for, from his look and his reputation, I felt sure there was much more in him than that. But I had begun to think I should make nothing of him, when quite suddenly he withdrew the veil in which, from shyness, he had wrapt himself, and the depth and earnestness of his nature then stood revealed. Throughout life he often acted in this way, and I have known men who got and kept an entirely false impression of his character from his habit of thus disguising himself. To those who knew him however this excess of jocularities, when it reappeared, was always a sign that he was either ill or anxious, or that he was among people whom he did not know, or whom he did not wish to know him. I say this excess of jocularities ; for his humour was perennial, and welled up in his talk with an irresistible flow. But it generally was of that kind which is born of intense scrutiny of the deepest problems, and both concealed and revealed a quite exquisite tenderness and sympathy. Often however it was merely the natural outcome of his bright and cheerful nature. But it was always totally without bitterness, and even in those days he rarely uttered a sarcasm.

Soon after we became intimate, I had an experience of his humorous mischief. We often met in hospitable Edinburgh drawing-rooms, and I soon noticed that on these occasions those with whom I talked spoke with mysterious reserves. They carefully abstained from inquiring as to

when and how my connexion with Australia began, and when they did touch upon the unhappy circumstances of the earliest settlers, they magnified their few virtues, and said nothing of their thousand crimes. This struck me as odd, and I was at great pains to give lessons in geography, to prove that Melbourne was as remote from the only convict settlement now existing as London is from Gibraltar. On consulting Elmslie about the matter however, I found that he was the cause of the whole phenomenon. He confessed that he generally went round the room just before me, telling every one, with a compassionate look, that I had just come from Australia—"Botany Bay, you know"; and that he had then spent the rest of the evening in laughing inwardly at the reception I met with, and at the growth of my perplexed astonishment.

With regard to mental tastes and aptitudes, when I first knew him there was, I think, no one emphatically pronounced. He was merely hungry for knowledge of all kinds. If any subject had fascinated him more than another, it probably was mathematics, and he used to dilate with enthusiasm on the sense of power which the command of the higher mathematical processes gave. But though he had more than one opportunity of going to Cambridge put in his way, and though he must certainly have taken a high place among mathematical scholars there, he had too much sympathy with humanity to devote himself entirely to a course of study so abstract; for his vigorous religious life had only strengthened natural tendencies which would alone have made the study of mankind, with their needs and sorrows, supremely attractive to him.

What most struck us who knew him best was the rare and extraordinary soundness and balance of his mind. He was keen and observant and analytic enough to have become a prominent man of science; his perception of the weaknesses and basenesses of human nature was so un-

sparingly accurate, that he might easily have fallen into the bitterness of cynicism ; and he was conspicuous for the cool, hard sense which his countrymen so often possess. But with all that he had an absolute faith in the ideal as the true guide for his own life, and his belief in the existence of an ideal element in every human being was so strong, that even without Christ he would have loved men. His toleration for error and aberration of all kinds was consequently almost boundless, yet his power of moral indignation was extremely great. Indeed, I have never known a man of his age so free from excess or morbidity of any kind. While others of us, in the crisis of our *Sturm und Drang Periode*, were alternating between an unreasonable optimism and an equally unreasonable despondency, he never bated "a jot of heart or hope, but steered right onward."

I have said that the college influences were very potent ; and they were so, primarily, owing to the way in which Dr. Rainy, Professor of Church History, and Dr. Davidson, Professor of Hebrew, impressed themselves upon the students. In other classes there was good teaching ; here there was a great deal more, there was formative power. Men of ability therefore rarely left the Hebrew or Church history classes without having had their thoughts profoundly modified, and for life. Elmslie was no exception to this rule. In his first year he did not, it is true, get the prize for Hebrew ; but he eagerly drank in the lectures, only too rare, in which Dr. Davidson discussed methods of interpretation and the fundamental points in Old Testament religion, and they practically decided the main bent of his studies. In his second year Dr. Davidson's extraordinary impulsive power was still more strongly felt, and the paper Elmslie read in the class on the "Day of the Lord" showed how thoroughly he had learned to combine in his Old Testament studies the most penetrating analysis with the finest constructive effect in his results. In the

ordinary course of things, two years' attendance at Hebrew is all that is necessary; but when an extra class was formed for the study of the book of Job, Elmslie eagerly joined in it, and took a leading part in what, to those who shared in it, was one of the most memorable experiences of our college career.

In the Church history class, which came in the third year, the impulse was of a different kind, but of a kind which fell in equally with the natural bent of Elmslie's mind. In various universities I have heard lectures in history, but I have heard none at all comparable to those delivered in the New College. They were, it is needless to say, full of knowledge; but that was not the quality which gave them their unique power. It was their candour, their scrupulous fairness, their insight born of sympathy, which attracted men; and the impression they left upon our minds, that, while individual men, as against the Church, had often been right on special points, the true line of Christian advance had never been far from that which the Church had ultimately taken, was an anchor to many, which enabled them, amid their own doubts, to wait hopefully for day.

At the end of our first year I had the great pleasure of going with Elmslie to the University of Berlin for the *Semester*. Neither of us knew much German; but we thought we should more quickly gain a working knowledge of the language by attending university classes in the subjects we were studying, and we felt sure we should more easily get a knowledge of German methods and modes of thought among students, than among any other class. We accordingly enrolled ourselves as students of theology for the summer session of 1869, and in order to make thorough work of our German studies we lived in different houses, though in the same street, and in families where no English was spoken. As a rule, we spent only a couple

of hours daily in each other's company, and endeavoured to keep our speaking of English within that limit. In the university we attended only two lectures, one by Dorner and one by Messner; but we did not distress ourselves if we missed them, for as yet they were only German lessons in the main. Altogether we spent a most happy and fruitful summer.

Besides learning to speak the language we read a good deal, and perhaps that was the main direct gain of our stay in Berlin. But this was Elmslie's first journey outside of Scotland, and acting on a nature so sensitively observant of new impressions, the experience we had of new countries, new people, new customs was most powerfully operative. It was characteristic of him however, that he did not Germanize himself, as some of our British fellow students did. For instance, he was not at all inclined to take the rigorous view of Sunday observance which prevailed in Scotland, but he had not made up his mind as to what the Christian rule in the matter should be. Consequently he adhered in all things to the Scottish fashion while in Germany, for he felt it would be unworthy to forestall his deliberate decision by weakly yielding to the practice of those about him. Others did so, and then, on their return home, took their place again among the orthodox in this matter, apparently without the slightest feeling of incongruity. But Elmslie was made in another fashion, and when he did finally decide for a wider view, he did so on grounds which he felt would justify him at the bar of conscience.

In regard to temperance, his action was similar. From his earliest years he had been a practically pledged abstainer, and though I was not, and he had the constant trial of seeing me join the multitude, he remained true to his conviction. Once, indeed, when we were spending an hour listening to music in a beer-garden, as the custom

of the country is, he turned from his seltzerwater to ask me, with pathetic interest, if the superior beverage I was partaking of was so very enjoyable. But I was happily able to assure him that, to adopt Mazzini's phrase, it was not too good a joy; and I never saw him waver afterwards. In later life, though he remained true to the temperance cause, he allowed himself, when it seemed right, somewhat more latitude; but when he did so, he had no haunting doubts as to whether lax practice, when he thought it wrong, had clouded and obscured his judgment. To many these will seem small matters, but it is in such things that the kind of spirit a man is of is seen.

On our return to Scotland he received the offer of the assistantship to the Professor of Natural Philosophy in his old university, and accepted it, to my great regret, for we saw nothing of each other during the winter after our return. But he was not robust, and he delighted in the work he would have to do, and was glad to have the opportunity of studying medicine for a session, a subject in which then, and afterwards, he was always deeply interested.

At the end of the session, to my great satisfaction, he proposed another summer in Germany together. This was decided upon, and we thought at first of Tübingen or Göttingen. Finally however we decided to return to Berlin. Following our former practice, we lived in different parts of the town, but saw each other constantly. With our experience of the previous summer and our reading during the winter, we were now able to follow the lectures with ease; and we attended Prof. Dorner in New Testament exegesis and Christian ethics, Prof. Dillmann in Hebrew and Old Testament theology, and Prof. Weingarten in Church history, with occasional excursions into the lecture rooms of Rödiger, Professor of Arabic, and Mommsen.

As we were specially interested in Hebrew, Dillmann

made a very deep impression upon us. He was then working at the commentaries on the Pentateuch which have, since their publication, made him famous among Old Testament scholars, as he previously was among those interested in Ethiopic. His knowledge of things Semitic was amazingly profound, and the noble look of the man, to which his character, so far as we came in contact with him, entirely corresponded, impressed us greatly. In the very last letter I received from Elmslie, which was written less than a month before his death, he recalls Dillmann and the teaching we received from him.

But we were by no means inclined to accept blindly what came even from him. Though his influence is now reckoned a conservative force, to us then he seemed altogether too radical. Much of the benefit we received from him therefore was due to the measure in which he incited us to re-examination of things we had thought settled. This he did most thoroughly, and during the whole *Semester* he kept us in a state of intellectual activity, by which we greatly profited. Eventually we, like the rest of the world interested in Old Testament studies, had to admit the truth of much which we then denied.

With Dorner we came into nearer contact in a theological society which met at his house, and we had many interesting conversations with him. He was a thorough German, a profound and robust thinker, but the unhappy possessor of a style which no interest in his thoughts could make more than barely tolerable. We were much struck with the difference between the tone of evangelical orthodoxy in Germany as seen in him, and that to which we were accustomed among many who bought and read his books in Scotland and England. A remark he made about *Ecce Homo* brought out this difference most strikingly. He thought it a profoundly interesting and useful book, and told us that he had distributed it among his

students. Not long before, the Earl of Shaftesbury had denounced it as "the most mischievous book ever vomited from the jaws of hell"; and to Elmslie especially the contrast in the two estimates was the subject of much humorous speculation.

Besides these university engagements, we also taught in the Sunday school of the church we attended; and though our German was not immaculate, the *Engländer's* class was one of the most popular in the school, and was, I think, thoroughly well conducted.

All this was very helpful, but perhaps the largest benefit he gained from our second stay in Germany was the wide excursion he took into the books of Strauss and the other leading writers of the life of Christ from the naturalistic point of view. He read them with sustained interest, for he found in them much which helped him to realize strongly the human side of our Lord's character. Of course, he never was in the least degree tempted to accept their account of Christ and Christianity as sufficient, yet he always said that familiarity with their books had done much to colour his preaching and to make it helpful. None but a man spiritually warm in heart and sound in head would have benefited in this way, and that he thus made the eater bring forth meat is only a proof that in intellectual and moral strength he was greatly superior to most men. At this time too he laid the foundation of his profound acquaintance with Goethe. I do not know that he was as yet deeply influenced by him, as he afterwards was, but his acquaintance with and delight in him undoubtedly began during this summer.

Altogether, I think it had been a most fruitful time for him, and next to the influences at the New College which I have already described, I should reckon this summer's study as probably the most formative force in his student life.

Next winter he joined us again in Edinburgh. By his absence he had fallen out of the class he began his course with, but, except that we did not attend the same lectures, we continued to be together as inseparably as before. He was now well known in the college, and was exceedingly popular, and began to take great interest in the college mission in the Canongate. In connexion with it Elmslie took the infant class, which was taught in a separate room; and there he used to entrance the crowd of delightful little ragamuffins by his dramatic narratives. He admitted no one as a rule, but an exception was sometimes made in my favour; and the skill with which he gained and kept their attention was a prophecy of his future success as a preacher. I heard him once tell the story of a lost lamb, terrified by a lion and rescued by the Good Shepherd. He stood while he spoke, and acted every part of the narrative, even to the start and lament of the lamb when it was pricked in passing through the thorn bushes. Every eye was fixed on him, and when he made the lion roar, the delight was boundless. He was then proceeding to tell of the good and gentle Shepherd, when a small, sharp creature of a boy, with bare feet and many a *hiatus valde deflendus* in his garments, crept up noiselessly, and, pulling the teacher by the coat, said, "A say, maister, let it roar again." And their enthusiasm about their teacher was not greater than the teacher's enthusiasm about them. He laughed about and with them, but it was sincere laughter, "born of saddest thought"; and he strove with all his might to impress them with the belief that the Good Shepherd was very near to them and very gentle, and that in Him was embodied the love of God.

He also joined heartily in the street preaching which was begun and carried on by a few of the senior students. A room in the High Street was placed at our disposal by

Mr. Cunningham, of Queen Street ; and our plan was the usual one : to stand in the street, and when we had gathered a crowd by singing and addressing the passers by, we invited them into the room, where other addresses were delivered. At first our efforts produced only open-eyed wonder, which was expressed by a very dilapidated man, who stopped to listen for a moment, and then turned to ask his neighbour, "What dae thae laddies want?" But they found that there was an earnest desire to do their duty and to help them in the "laddies," and many came to listen with interest. I do not know that we had a great roll of what is called conversions ; but it touched us all, Elmslie especially, very deeply to see numbers of men and women who had become utter wrecks standing within the shadows of the closes, and at their dark and dirty windows, where they thought they were unseen, listening with sad-eyed interest to the message we were trying to convey.

In the Theological Society, which was the theological equivalent of the Dialectic Society among the university arts students, and which was then in a very vigorous and effective state, Elmslie also took a very deep interest. In it every question of first-rate importance in theology was dealt with, and treated with a freedom which would surprise those theorists who maintain that the young men who sign the standards of the Presbyterian Church are mere babes in criticism, and have never so much as heard the faith seriously challenged. In these discussions Elmslie soon took a leading place, and showed that he possessed the qualities, not only of a thoughtful speaker, but those of a first-rate debater as well.

Of course, in such a society, there was a good deal of crudity exhibited at times, both in thought and expression. In replying to matter of this kind Elmslie was really most unsparing. But his way of putting his criticism was so genial, that those he scourged never quite knew how

severely they had been dealt with. He consequently never lost popularity with those whose nonsense he exposed, and was probably the most generally beloved of all his contemporaries.

During his remaining years at New College he was easily first in all competitions. He won the Hamilton Scholarship, with the highest number of marks gained for years; and at the final examination, though the state of his health was unsatisfactory, and even bad at times, he gained the first place, together with the first Cunningham Scholarship. At this time his desire was to get a professorship. That seemed to him the work which he could most effectively do; but in the Presbyterian Church that is, as a rule, possible only after a certain amount of pastoral work. He accordingly accepted the assistantship at Regent Square under Dr. Dykes. During the summer preceding his last session at Edinburgh, I had left Scotland for Syria and Palestine, and thereafter Australia. Consequently I can judge only from his letters, which were very full and interesting, how his new work suited him. The main impression they gave me was that he grew enormously in practical efficiency as a Christian minister, and that gradually he began to think that preaching might possibly be, after all, his calling. He found, to his own surprise, that the work of the ministry became absorbingly interesting. It gave him ample field for his broad common sense and for his sympathy, and he was filled with delight to discover that he had the power of becoming the peacemaker and the consoler of a whole neighbourhood, and that through his preaching of Christ characters were touched and uplifted. To me, "at our world's far end," it seemed that he was amply fulfilling, even in directions we had not thought of, the promise of his student days, and that contact with the sorrows and sins of his fellows was greatly deepening and enriching his nature. Then came his appointment

to the Hebrew tutorship in the college of his Church in London, and, later, his appointment to the professorship. With this promotion he attained the object of his early ambition; but I think he sometimes looked back with regret to the days when he had lived in closer contact with men.

In 1887 I had the great happiness of meeting him again. After fifteen years' absence from England, he was the one person whom I positively longed to see and talk with; and I had written to him, telling him I was returning, and begging him to spare for me as much of his holiday as possible. When I arrived, in May of that year, he was at Ramsgate, recruiting after the labours of the session; and when we met I found it true what he had written in one of his letters, that if I were to call in upon him suddenly, we could, and would, immediately fall back into the old delightful talks.

I found that he had arranged for a six weeks' tour in Switzerland with Mrs. Elmslie and myself. On our way to Lucerne we passed through Amiens, staying the night, and then went on to St. Quentin, where the non-official synod of the French Protestant Church was then meeting. We both had commissions as deputies, and were very kindly received. By arrangement Elmslie was permitted to speak before the night set apart for deputations, in order that we might continue our tour; and he delivered, in French, a very powerful and beautiful address, much on the lines of the speech he subsequently delivered at the Pan-Presbyterian Council in London. On all sides there were expressions of congratulation, and the members of the synod discovered that the youthful-looking professor who had been sent to them was a very distinguished man. Later, at Lucerne, in the Bernese Oberland, on the Lake of Geneva, and at Chamounix, we spent never to be forgotten days, talking of things grave and things frivolous, as

the moods came and went, and spending quiet hours in the summer woods and by murmuring streams, over Browning, whose poems I had brought with me.

These were almost my last days with him ; and I feel it now to be a special grace, that the end of our heart-converse should have been appointed to us amid these exalting scenes, "where Alp meets heaven with snow." He was in his most charming mood, though a trifle overworn ; but the fifteen varied years of work and experience which had passed over him since I last saw him had left their mark only in a somewhat readier response to the graver aspects of things. In the main, he was essentially the same. I was struck however with the great development of his varied powers which had taken place. His thinking was energetic to overflowing ; and in all directions I found him a continually running fountain of suggestions for change and reform in Church and State alike.

It would not be fair to him to do more than indicate, in the barest outline, my recollection of the drift of some of his talk. Probably he may have put on record some of his suggestions in letters or otherwise, by which he may still speak, but my general impression was, that, more than any man I have met, he had learned to identify himself with the great mass of mankind in their struggles and their aspirations. He was most emphatic in his denial that the working classes in England were out of sympathy with Christ, though he fully admitted that they were not at all in sympathy with the clergy, and much less so than could be desired with the organized Churches. Wherever a man could get at them however, and set Christ before them, he said they were, as a rule, won to respect and reverence. But while this was good so far as they were concerned, the gulf that separated them from the clergy, and in a less degree from the Church, was, he thought, a formidable indictment of the spirit and methods which had hitherto prevailed in

Church work. Manifestly the working classes had been allowed to gather the impression that the Churches, the official representatives of religion, had not been so vividly alive to the evil effects of bad and oppressive legislation affecting the mass of men as they should have been, and that they had shown no enthusiasm of humanity in their political action, or had openly declared that political action lay beyond their sphere. This impression he thought well founded, and his sympathies with the socialistic tendency of much modern legislation was therefore very vivid.

Of course he knew quite well, none better, that man cannot live by bread alone, and that even if all men "had two coats and everything comfortable about them," they would still, but for other influences, be no nearer the spirit of Christ. But, on the other hand, poverty was not, in his eyes, a means of grace. It was rather a hard, cruel, remorseless enemy, fitly indeed called the "wolf at the door"; and he held that it had, when at all extreme, a deteriorating and dechristianising effect. He had helped in many a skirmish against it among people under his charge, and his verdict was that righteousness, as Christ understood it, had no enemy so formidable as the poverty of our large towns. He therefore held that our present social state should be distinctly banned by the Churches, and that they should give their adherents no rest, till they felt it to be as intolerable to them as he thought it must be in the eye of God. I should judge therefore, that he had very little to object to in the socialistic demands; but he saw, as a man of his intellectual grasp could not fail to see, that the socialist measures could not possibly cure the evils they were meant to meet.

As for the atheistic and antichristian propaganda, about which the leading socialists seem even more enthusiastic than their own special business, he regarded it as a piteous aberration which could excite only regret. But he believed

that our social system would have to be greatly modified if it were to endure, and was desirous, or even anxious, that the Churches should resolutely set themselves to prepare men to make the sacrifices that would be necessary. He did not think so merely because it might be possible on these lines to reconcile the working classes to the Church. On the contrary, he felt sure that if the Christian Churches could show themselves more Christlike, and would help to force the State into a Christian mould, there would be no reconciliation to make. But it was characteristic of him, that, while his heart was warm with these ideals, he had calmly looked at the contention on the other side, and had met it. That contention is, of course, that Christianity, in its pity and care for the weak, perpetuates undesirable types, and fills the world with ineffectives, who render the struggle of the effectives harder than it need or ought to be. His reply was, that, while there was much truth in the objection, the remedy was not to build societies upon the principles of a purely selfish struggle for existence. That would be to fill the world with healthy animals, in whom all tender and holy sentiments would be extinguished. On the contrary, what was necessary was to call out into action a whole series of moral duties—mainly self-restraints—which lay implicitly in Christianity, but which our present type of civilization had not permitted to assert themselves. In other words, he thought that when Christianity had such power in our social order that it would be in danger of unduly increasing the number of the weak by compassion, it would at the same time develop so many new and widely extended self-restraints that the danger would be averted. For all this he was full of enthusiasm, and saw his way with a most enviable and unfaltering clearness.

But again, he thought the wall of partition between the people and the Churches was also largely due to too much abstract theology in sermons. His faith in Christ had

grown stronger during these years most undoubtedly, and he had for Him a genuine *love*, such as one sees in few men ; but he had, like Mirabeau, swallowed a good many of the formulas with which he had started, and had contracted a dislike for them which I venture to think was extreme. And yet he had much excuse. From the conventional religion, the conventional theologian, the conventional moralist, he had seen the Church suffer untold injuries, and he had even suffered somewhat himself. Moreover, he knew that men of that type had still a preponderating influence so great, that the question of providing for the stability of Churches in which they were not omnipotent did not now arise. He therefore threw himself into the opposite ranks with an *abandon* which he rarely permitted to himself. In doing so, he was greatly supported by his admiration for Goethe. He told me that he had latterly been more influenced in the general trend of his thinking by Goethe than by any one. But it was not the Goethe of the earlier *weltkind* days he meant, nor of the later heathen period, nor even of the days when a *religiös vernünftiger Islam* seemed to him to be the religion we should all have to turn to ; it was rather the Goethe of the last twenty-five years of his life, which Otto Harnack has called the period of his *vollendung*. It dates from the publication of the *Elective Affinities*, and is distinguished by his throwing off the influence of Spinoza, who had in the previous period dominated his thinking. As is well known, from that time onwards Goethe turned ever more decisively towards Christianity, and his utterances on the subject of religion during these last years offer a wealth of suggestion, to which Elmslie's natural bent of mind gave the freest play. He thoroughly sympathised with Goethe's scepticism as to the validity of all complete systems of metaphysical or semi-metaphysical thought.

By this tendency his attitude to dogmatic theology was

greatly affected. He had evidently come to rely much less upon dogmatic systems, and more upon the simple statements of the gospel. These, he thought, contained in themselves as much metaphysic as was either true or useful for the actual life of men. At times he even seemed to imply that metaphysic of any kind was an evil, though he was always willing to add, "a necessary evil." But his permanent mind on the subject would, I think, be exactly expressed by what Goethe says in his *Sprüche* of metaphysic in physics. "We cannot deal effectively with many problems of natural science, without calling in the aid of metaphysic: but not the mere word-chopping wisdom of the schools; we need the aid of that which was before, is involved in, and will be after physics." Similarly the metaphysic which was before, is involved in, and will be after the facts of history, Elmslie felt to be indispensable; but with any other he would have nothing to do, save as an object of curious study. Hence he had little interest in what may be called the secondary developments of Church doctrine, with the seemingly hair-splitting distinctions, such as those about two wills or one in the person of Christ. Indeed he delighted especially in a story of how he, or another, had asked a whole presbytery what their views on such matters were, and after hearing them had proved incontestably that there was not one of them orthodox. They had, every one, fallen into some terrible heresy with a still more terrible name. He did not deny however that such things had their relative worth, and that the discussion of them had been necessary in their time; but they were not fruitful now and for him. Now, with Goethe, he believed that "what is fruitful is alone true," that only that which has a definite power of furthering the highest interests of mankind, of advancing Christianity, in our time was really valid for us; and he therefore turned away from such refinements.

But this was in him no sign of declining belief in the supernatural in the person of our Lord. He regarded Unitarianism as a sign of disease, a mark of weak spiritual health, or of retarded development. But, on the other hand, I think what Harnack says of Goethe applies to him: "Metaphysical definitions as to the Divine or human nature of Jesus Christ were entirely remote from his manner of thinking, directed, as it was, wholly to the practical. These questions belonged for him to the theoretically insoluble problems." But, also like Goethe, he believed that solutions which theory was powerless to discover could be found in practical experience; and he lived by and preached with a rare enthusiasm and power the Divine Christ as He is portrayed in the gospels. Upon Him no human heart, he thought, could altogether close the door; and if any had a different experience, he was inclined to believe that it was because they presented Him in an abstract and metaphysical form, not in the life and power with which He is set forth in the Scriptures.

Another subject upon which he spoke much was the *training* of men for the ministry. From his own experience he was brought to the deliberate conclusion, that, for, effectiveness in ministerial work, the greater part of his training had been useless. He had had to cast away the bulk of it, he said, before he found his hands as a preacher and minister. The reason of this was that, in general, students in theological colleges are dealt with, as if the main object was to make them scholars and specialists. Now in his view, while there ought to be an adequate supply of both these classes in the ministry of the Church, theological training should not be shaped as if these alone were to be considered. Those who have the natural aptitude for this career should certainly find in the course prescribed for them such teachers and other helps as would insure their progress and success, but for the rest they might

safely be left to their own bent. The aim of the professors should rather be, he thought, to send forth men who, while thoroughly educated, should be living men, men of to-day, accepting in the main the present points of view, but having developed in them a definite spiritual and moral purpose to teach and save in the world. Consequently every part of the training should start from the thoughts and tendencies presently working in the world, and the Bible, the Old and New Testaments, should be their main subject of study. But their study of it should be kept resolutely away from the scholastic subtleties of former times. To make the Bible living; to show how it provided remedies for the evils of modern life; to make men see all parts of it in due proportion in the light of all available collateral knowledge; to show how the principles underlying it are the saving principles of the best social life, as well as the only rule for individual faith and manners; and, above all, to make men learn to appreciate it as the record of how God has revealed His highest to the souls of those that wait for Him, should be the chief design. All the other disciplines should be subservient to that, and should secure the freshness and variety they too often lack, by being worked entirely from the point of view which the present profit of men thinking in certain definite directions now would most naturally suggest.

How well he acted up to his own ideal in this matter, the devotion he inspired in his students shows; and had he lived, it is more than probable that he would have been the source of much fresh and vivifying preaching in the pulpits of the Presbyterian Church. It was with such thoughts his mind was full during our ramble in Switzerland, and when I said good-bye to him afterwards in London, I was filled with hope for his future, and for the work he was to do. But it was not to be. Two sessions more of diligent and successful labour were

all that were appointed to him, and now those who knew and loved him have to go "forward over his grave." That it is not easy for us to do; but as he had a singularly high and cheerful courage himself, and resolutely held fast to the faith that the forces that seem at times to smite so blindly are controlled by the "unseen Pity that holds our life in its great hands," we shall best honour his memory by setting ourselves patiently and resolutely to do it.

ANDREW HARPER.

PSALM LXVIII.

*"LET God arise, let his enemies be scattered;
And let them that hate him flee before him."*

These words and those which follow, in the striking old French version, formed a war-song of the Huguenots, those Maccabees of Reformed Christianity. The psalm was not indeed intended as a war-song; from the beginning to the end the only fighter mentioned is that invincible one, Jehovah Sabáoth. But who can blame these heroes for so employing the *Exsurgat Deus*? Never in modern times have there been soldiers of such steadfast faith as the Huguenots (except it be Cromwell's Ironsides), and so deeply possessed with the truth that the best equipments of war are of no avail without the help of God. The spirit of the psalms had passed into their lives, and though we may not read the psalms precisely as they read them, yet it would be an object worthy of a Chrysostom to make English people sympathise more with the Huguenot feeling towards the Psalter. It is true, the modern Chrysostom will have a harder task than his predecessor; for unless he has assimilated the method and the best results of criticism, he will not be competent to teach those who most need to

be taught. Somewhere perhaps he is even now passing through his varied discipline, human and Divine; and while we are waiting for him, let us listen to the golden-tongued preacher of Antioch, as he stirs up the indolent Christians of his own day to a more intelligent use of the treasures of the Psalter.

“The words of this psalm are universally known; men continue to sing them all through life, but they know not the meaning of the things spoken. One may justly find fault with those who sing the same words every day, but do not investigate the thoughts which are stored up in them. And yet if any one saw a pure and limpid water, he could not refrain from going near, and touching and drinking it; or if he frequented a meadow, he could not bear to leave it without gathering a few flowers. But you who, from your earliest age to your latest years, practise this psalm, are content to know the words alone, and sit by a hidden treasure, and carry about a sealed purse, and not one of you is moved by curiosity to acquaint himself with that which is said. Nor can you excuse your sleep by the clearness of the meaning; for it is most unclear.”¹

St. Chrysostom is speaking of the 141st Psalm, the ordinary evening psalm of the Eastern Church. But his words may still be applied, though I hope in a less degree, to many of the psalms which Anglican Churchmen at any rate repeat in their daily services. Do not let us accuse the great preacher of austerity. St. Chrysostom held up no impossible standard. He was not a mere cloistered cenobite; he studied men as well as books, and sympathised with the difficulties of the various classes of his people. In expounding another psalm (xlii.) he earnestly recommends his hearers to be constantly repeating the psalms, both at home and in their walks abroad, as a preservative against temptation, even if they do not understand the meaning of the words. “For,” he says, “the tongue is sanctified by the words when they are spoken with a well-disposed mind.” It is clear however that he

¹ *Hom. in Ps. CXL. (cxli).*

only makes this concession to beginners in the hallowed practice of psalmody; for elsewhere he is urgent on the necessity of both praying and singing praise with the understanding, and reckons it among the advantages of true psalmody that it does not require the aid of the tongue. This, St. Chrysostom thinks, is what the psalmist means by the words, "Bless Jehovah, O my soul"; for it is only too easy, as he can sadly testify, for the spirit to flag in accompanying the sacred words.

The 68th Psalm is one of those which most require explanation for the ordinary reader. Slowly and gradually have trained students been penetrating its historical sense; and it is not surprising that teachers who have drawn their views of its meaning from an uncritical tradition should have cast but little light upon it, and that mostly deceptive. Were I addressing a Church Congress instead of writing for *THE EXPOSITOR*, I should endeavour to excuse the backwardness of preachers and of the accredited Church literature in the exposition of psalms like the 68th. I should point out that the wants of the Church are so varied, and the number of subjects pressing for recognition in theological examinations so large, that we can hardly be surprised if a comparatively new subject like the historical study of the psalms fails to make its existence adequately realized. But I should add that in our cathedrals and other scarcely less important churches an example ought to be set both by those who preach and by those who hear: by those who preach in devoting more study than formerly to the historical meaning of the psalms, and developing a legitimate Christian meaning out of this; and by those who hear in absorbing fresh knowledge and making it fruitful for their own Bible study. For instance, the Church of England attaches great weight to the 68th Psalm, which it appoints to be said or sung, not only once a month in the ordinary course, but on Whitsunday. But

must not an open-minded clergyman anxiously ask, how far and in what sense this psalm can any longer be set apart for that high day? Historical criticism was hardly yet in its infancy when the English Reformers compiled or rearranged the Prayer-Book, and it is perfectly conceivable that we might have to make on their behalf a confession of error. Let us examine into the circumstances of the case; more than merely Anglican Church interests are concerned.

From the very outset we must regard this psalm in its true light as a grand historical ode, one of those to which we can most confidently appeal in confirmation of the theory that the Old Testament is a literature. There are indeed other historical psalms—psalms with a wide sweep of historical reference—but they are didactic; whereas in the 68th the glories of the past and the hopes and fears of the present are fused together by the central fire of a deeply stirred emotion. The psalm falls into two parts, dividing at ver. 19. The first four verses consist of an appeal to Jehovah to deliver Israel, and a summons to the people to prepare for His coming. Then begins a magnificent historical retrospect. The psalmist can look back upon two great returns of the Israelites to Canaan; and if he lays much more stress upon one than upon the other, it is because the return from Egypt was the consecrated type both of that from Babylon and of that which, even after the second return, fervent Israelites craved (see ver. 22) from the distant lands of the Dispersion. In ver. 6 however the psalmist clearly refers to the fulfilment of the great prophecy of the Second Isaiah. He says:

*"God maketh the desolate to return home;
He bringeth out the prisoners into prosperity:
But the rebellious dwell in a parched land."*

Here the "parched land" is Babylon, where the refreshing streams which flow from Zion are unknown; the "desolate" and the "prisoners" are those who, unlike

the careless or rebellious Israelites, feel their privations, and long to return to their soul's true home. Observe, the psalmist generalizes from the facts of Israel's experience of God's redeeming love at Babylon. He who so gloriously interposed to deliver His people will surely do so again. Israel personified can still most truly say,

"For thy sake I have borne reproach;

*Shame hath covered my face."*¹

And though at present his destruction as a nation seems, humanly speaking, certain, he—that is, the righteous who constitute the true Israel—can "rejoice and triumph" before the God whose victorious advent they anticipate. We shall see later on what extraordinary faith the jubilant words of vers. 3, 4 imply.

In vers. 7-18 we have a highly poetic sketch of the journey through the wilderness, the conquest of Canaan, and the occupation of Mount Zion by the great King. It is gemmed with fine quotations from ancient songs, one of which we still possess in full; it is the Song of Deborah in Judges v. These quotations do not always carry their meaning on their front; all the more they stimulate us to think. And if we do spend a little thought upon them, we shall be rewarded. We shall not indeed find Scripture proofs of Christian doctrine, or suitable texts for missionary sermons and addresses. It is an ideal world in which, fancy-free, the poet roams. Attended by His hosts, Jehovah transfers His holy habitation from Mount Sinai to Mount Zion. There are the hosts of heaven, "*chariots of God, many myriads, thousands upon thousands*" (ver. 17); and there are the hosts of earth, as weak as those of heaven are strong, and yet the special objects of Jehovah's protecting care. It is for them that He leaves the most ancient of the mounts of God, where already He has appeared unto Moses, and where, as an

¹ Ps. lxi. 7.

exceptional favour, the fugitive prophet Elijah was again to find Him in years to come, and to witness that Divine acted parable, the depths of which he failed perhaps to fathom. Long since indeed Jehovah had chosen Canaan to be His inheritance; but not till the tribes of Jacob were ready to become the people of the true God did Canaan become, in fact as well as in right, the Holy Land. And when did the tribes of Israel become Jehovah's people, and Jehovah become Israel's God? At the giving of the law.¹ Then it was that, as the psalmist says, quoting from the Song of Deborah, "*even yon Sinai trembled at the presence of God, the God of Israel*" (ver. 8); or, in the words of the story in Exodus, "*there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount,*" and when Jehovah came down, "*the whole mount quaked greatly*" (Exod. xix. 16, 18). These were the symbols of that sterner side of the Divine nature which was most prominent to the early men. But was there no evidence of a gentler aspect as well? Yes; "*the heavens,*" as the poet tells us, "*dropped (with water),*" and the rain, which was lost upon the peaks of Sinai, fell in gracious, fertilizing abundance on the land of Canaan.

"Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful rain,

Thou didst restore thine inheritance, when it was weary.

Thy congregation (or, thine army) dwelt therein (i.e. in Canaan);

In thy goodness, O God, thou didst prepare for the poor"
(vers. 9, 10).

Next we have a scene from the early wars of the Israelites with the Canaanitish kings.

"The Lord giveth the word;

The women that publish the tidings are a great host"
(ver. 11).

The Lord Himself, that is, raises the battle-cry; victory

¹ See Deut. xxxiii. 2-5.

follows, and choruses of singing women celebrate the event among all the tribes of Israel.

The next three verses may be a fragment from one of the songs which these gifted women chanted.

Ver. 15 places us among the Israelites warring with Og, the king of Bashan. That highland region has its sacred mountains, not less than Arabia. And the poet, somewhat like the author of the ascension fragment which we studied not long since in the 24th Psalm, who endows palace-gates with the faculty of speech, represents the grand mountain-range of Bashan as casting jealous eyes at the little mountain which Jehovah has prepared on the other side of Jordan. For at length, though the details are omitted, the poet would have us understand that the triumphal march is finished. The mighty Warrior, with His chariots of angels, "*hath come* (as ver. 17 says) *from Sinai into the sanctuary.*" And the poet concludes the first part of the ode with the cry of praise,—

"Thou hast gone up to the height to abide ;

Jehovah, thou hast carried away captives ; thou hast received gifts,

*Among men, yea, even among the rebellious."*¹

The height which Jehovah ascends is clearly not the heavenly, but the earthly sanctuary ; for we are told that He carries with Him His "captives," and the "gifts" or "tribute" which He has received among men, no longer "rebellious" to His will. And the comfort which the psalmist draws from his now completed historical retrospect is, that Jehovah's residence on Mount Zion will not be of as short a duration as that on Mount Sinai, but that He has ascended up on high to abide. Twice within these verses this significant word "abide" is used with reference to Jehovah ; and since He is the same

¹ In justification of this rendering, I cannot help referring to my commentary (1888).

yesterday, to-day, and for ever, the victory which was the prelude to His royal entrance into Jerusalem was a prophecy of many another victory in times to come.

In what sense can the Christian use this part of the psalm? It is of course edifying to see how a religious Jewish poet read his nation's history; but is there any distinctively Christian, and more especially any Whitsuntide, application that we can make of these verses? A simple-minded reader of the New Testament will perhaps reply by pointing to that most beautiful exhortation to unity in the fourth chapter of Ephesians, where the apostle illustrates the truth that all spiritual gifts come from one God through one Mediator by quoting the eighteenth verse of our psalm in an incorrect form, using the liberty then, even more than now, accorded to a preacher. But though, as we sing the psalm, we may sometimes recall with interest this passage in Ephesians, we cannot, as thinking men, justify the Whitsuntide use of this psalm by St. Paul's inaccurate quotation. It may perhaps help us to remember that this was one of the special psalms for the Jewish day of Pentecost. That festival was held in later times to commemorate the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, and Psalm lxviii. was doubtless connected with the feast on account of its description of the awful phenomena reported in the twentieth of Exodus, when the people trembled and stood afar off, for they were afraid to meet God.¹

But the Christian Feast of Pentecost commemorates a greater event than the giving of the decalogue—even that mighty inspiration by which the apostles, as representatives of the Church, were fitted to continue Christ's work in Christ's spirit. And I think that we may find an anticipation of this second and greater coming of God in the latter verses of this section of the ode. Jehovah has not come

¹ Exod. xx. 18, 19.

down for a time only, with thunder and lightning and earthquake, but to abide, as the Author of peace and the Father of mercies, for evermore in His temple. And what, from a Christian point of view, is His temple? A material building? No: the Church of Christ, and therefore each member of that Church, in so far as he is one with Christ by faith.

At this point (ver. 19) the second part begins in the language of benediction.

"Blessed be the Lord!

*Day by day he beareth us (or, beareth our burden),
Even the God who is our salvation."*

A different strain this from—

*"Blessed be Jehovah my Rock!
Who teacheth my hands to war,
And my fingers to fight."*¹

The poet who wrote these words lived at a time when Israel, full of martial prowess, could fight for the accomplishment of God's purposes. But now Israel is too feeble, too depressed, to dream of self-defence, and if God does not soon interpose, will be torn in pieces by the ruthless potentates who are contending over his body. The psalmist's function is to keep alive the spirit of trust in God. Outwardly Israel may have been brought very low, but inwardly he has still cause enough for soaring on the wings of faith. There are in fact two Israels: the one which is "despised and rejected of men"; the other which is invisibly borne up on angels' wings, lest he dash his foot against a stone. And corresponding to these two Israels, we find two classes of utterances in the Psalter, one which is represented by the words,

*"How long, Jehovah, wilt thou forget me for ever?"*²
and the other by the courageous profession of faith in ver. 20 of our psalm,—

¹ Ps. cxliv. 1.

² Ps. xiii. 1.

*"God is unto us a God of deliverances ;
And unto Jehovah the Lord belong the issues from death."*

Israel's God has not lost His ancient strength, nor has He "forgotten to be gracious." Still does He direct the affairs of His people from His holy hill of Zion ; still does He grant new prophetic revelations, or disclose the present meaning of the old. One of these old or new oracles points to a great restoration of Jewish exiles, preceding an awful judgment upon Jehovah's enemies (see vers. 21-23). From this the poet draws fresh hope, and he still further encourages himself by the proofs which the well-attended festival processions of his day supply of the unbroken connexion between God and His Church.

*"They have seen thy goings, O God,
Even the goings of my God, my King, into the sanctuary."*

And then follows a description of the procession. The singers and players upon instruments take the lead, surrounded by damsels, like Miriam, playing on timbrels. After this comes the laity in general. Four tribes only take part, two belonging to Judæa, and two to Galilee—the two provinces into which the Jewish territory was divided in the post-Exile period.

*"Then went little Benjamin before,
The chiefs of Judah in its bands,
The chiefs of Zebulun, the chiefs of Naphtali"* (ver. 27).

The tribe of Benjamin was always a small one—hence the epithet "little," which has no mystic reference, as the Fathers uncritically supposed,¹ to the Apostle Paul. The "chiefs" (or, princes) are the elders, one or more of whom would naturally precede the representatives of each district. But there was One invisibly present, without whom the procession would have lost its sanctity. In the olden days, the ark would have been carried at the head of the procession, the ark which was revered as the material pledge

¹ So even Theodoret.

of Jehovah's presence. But those who devoutly used the psalms could not possibly want what had only been given for a time for the hardness of men's hearts. They knew that God was everywhere present, though they could not see Him, and more specially present in the assemblies of the Church. Hence the poet boldly ventures on the phrase "thy goings," just as if the Lord, according to the prophecy of Malachi, had suddenly come in person to His temple.¹

Encouraged by the vigorous church-life thus exemplified, the psalmist rises into the tone of prayer. May He who has again and again "wrought" for Israel "strengthen" His work in our day (ver. 28)! And now, instead of picturing the routed enemy overtaken by God's just vengeance, as in the two opening verses, a new and more blessed vision passes before his eyes. It is a new sort of religious procession which he sees—distant kings hastening to Jerusalem with presents for the King of kings. But how can this be realized while Israel's land is no better than a football to the great rival kings of Egypt and Syria—the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, of whom we read in veiled language in the eleventh chapter of the book of Daniel? Hence the poet utters an earnest prayer for the humiliation of these proud heathen kingdoms. "The wild beast of the reeds" (not "the company of the spearmen") means Egypt, whose symbol was leviathan; while "the troop of bulls, of lords of peoples," probably refers to the mercenaries of various nations of the extensive empire of the Syrian kings (ver. 30). When these proud empires have been "rebuked," *i.e.* restrained and humiliated, then will Israel be at liberty to assume its peaceful, educational functions for the nations or the world. Then will the bold predictions of the Second Isaiah be fulfilled; Egypt and Ethiopia shall become the voluntary vassals of Israel: "*After thee shall they go, and in chains pass over; and unto thee shall they bow down, unto*

¹ Mal. iii. 1.

thee shall they pray, Of a truth in thee is God; and there is none else, no Godhead at all."¹ For the chains, as any one must see, are those of affectionate reverence, by which these noble proselytes are linked to those who unfold to them the way of truth. Or, as the psalmist puts it,—

"(Then) shall they come in haste out of Egypt;

Quickly shall Ethiopia stretch out her hands unto God."

The psalmist is not in the mood for following out the train of thought naturally suggested by this prospect. We have seen in a previous Study how another temple-singer treats the grand theme of the conversion of the nations. With the thought of Ethiopia stretching out her hands unto God our poet closes what I may call the historical part of the ode. His fears for Israel's future are allayed. He has "considered the days of old, and the years that are past." He has reflected on the many proofs of Israel's present devotion to its God. He has presented the Church's earnest prayer, and, relying on the unchangeableness of the Divine nature, he can have no doubt as to the result.

The 68th psalm is a poem of grandly wide compass, and reveals no ordinary degree of art. The singing-robcs of David were taken up by some who almost equalled him in gifts, and far surpassed him in culture. The psalm is also a fine monument of post-Exile religion. It shows us how, even in dark days, when ruin menaced from without, and inward moral decay was visible in the highest family of the State, there was still a Church of true believers, who read their past history in the light of their religion, and were encouraged by it to wait patiently, and even rejoicingly, for their God. We have seen how we may still repeat the first part of the ode at Whitsuntide, and we shall, I think, agree that the missionary prospect with which the second part closes makes it equally fit with the first for our Christian Pentecost-day. It is the missionary idea which

¹ Isa xlv. 14; cf. xliii. 3.

prompts the grand thanksgiving which concludes the psalm, and in which all nations of the earth are summoned to join.

*"O kingdoms of the earth, sing ye unto God,
Make ye melody unto the Lord"* (ver. 32).

For the conversion of Egypt and Ethiopia, anticipated in ver. 31, is but like the first droppings of a shower. The words of another psalmist,

*"All nations whom thou hast made
Shall come and worship before thee, Jehovah,
And shall glorify thy name,"*¹

have found an echo in our poet's heart. His summons to all the heathen nations to glorify God for His deliverance of Israel implies that they have at least understood that Israel is to be the first-born among many brethren, and that in Abraham's seed all the families of the earth will be blessed. They have, in short, received into their hearts the germ of the true religion. Inwardly as well as outwardly the power of heathenism has been broken. "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our God,"—it remains for the Christian to add—"and of His Christ." Can we not then, without the least unfaithfulness to historical truth and to sound biblical interpretation, continue to read and to repeat the 68th psalm in the services of the Christian Church?

T. K. CHEYNE.

¹ Ps. lxxxvi. 9.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

XX. NOT OF THEM WHO DRAW BACK!

(CHAP. X. 25 TO XII. 29.)

"DRAW near," the teacher had said, in a tone of cheerful emphasis. "Draw not back," he now says in a tone of deep solemnity. "Draw not back" is virtually the burden of all that follows from this point onwards to the end of the twelfth chapter. The friend of the Hebrew Church fears the deprecated result, and puts forth a great final effort to avert it. In spite of his inward fear he assumes a tone of confidence, and says, "We (you and I) are not of them who draw back unto perdition; but of them that believe to the saving of the soul" (chap. x. 39). But he means: "Be ye not, ye must not be, it is not to be thought of, such a disastrous issue is intolerable." What he dreads is mean, ignoble, dastardly slinking from Christian standing and responsibility, through an abject desire for safety, which defeats itself, and brings on the moral coward the very evil he seeks to shun; what he commends is the heroic spirit of faith, which enables a man to live a true, just, godly life, preferring duty to safety: so, while willing to lose life, really gaining it, as Jesus had taught His disciples. In laconic phrase he offers as the watchword for times of trial, *οὐκ ὑποστολῆς, ἀλλὰ πίστεως*: "not men of shrinking, but men of faith."

To insure that the Hebrews shall so behave as to merit this description the writer brings to bear on them a variety of stimulating influences: their own past memories (chap. x. 32-36), the heroic career of the men of faith of former times (chap. xi.), the example of Jesus (chap. xii. 2, 3), the uses of affliction (chap. xii. 5-13), the solemn responsibilities lying on the privileged recipients of a final revelation (chap. xii. 14-29). With reference to the first, he bids them

in effect conduct themselves at the end of their Christian life in a manner worthy of its beginning, when they both bravely endured hardships on account of the faith, and generously sympathised with brethren exposed to trial. Why should they cast away that old boldness, which, persevered in to the end (now not far off), must have worthy recompense? What a pity to lose heart, when patience only for a little longer will bring the promised reward!

The second line of thought is worked out with great elaboration. This magnificent discourse on faith may conceivably have been prepared for and used on other occasions, and afterwards embodied in our epistle as well fitted to serve the purpose in hand, to help waverers to be men of faith by showing them what faith had done for others. The opening sentence, containing what looks like a scholastic definition of faith, might suggest that the leading aim of the discourse had originally been to illustrate the nature of faith as there defined to be the substance or assurance of things hoped for, and the evidence or proof of things not seen, whether past, present, or future. The first example of faith's action taken from the creation of the world appears to bear out this view, as it serves merely to explain the nature of faith and the vast range of its action as a principle in the human mind. It is not an instance of the faith by which the elders obtained a good report, but only the first case in the Old Testament history in which an opportunity occurs for showing the psychological nature of faith as the evidence of things not seen; that by which we apprehend the visible world to be the product of an invisible creative word of God. The same desire to illustrate the abstract nature of faith and the range of its action seems to come out in ver. 6, where it is argued that pleasing God necessarily involves faith (and not merely good conduct), inasmuch as he who seeks to please God, *ipso facto*, believes that God is, and that He rewards well-doing, the

one act of faith exemplifying its nature as evidence of the unseen, the other as the assurance of things hoped for.

Whatever truth there may be in the foregoing conjecture, there can be no doubt that the main purpose of the discourse as it here stands is to show, not the abstract nature of faith, but its moral power: how it enables men to live noble lives and so gain a good report. The writer's interest in the psychology of faith lies chiefly in the fact that it furnishes the key to faith's wonderful practical virtue. The connexion of thought is to this effect: "Be ye men of faith, my Hebrew brethren, for faith is a mighty thing: it makes one as sure of the future as if it were present, and brings the invisible within view. Through these its marvellous properties the good men of olden time were enabled so to live as to deserve the testimony that they were 'righteous' (ver. 4), that they 'pleased God' (ver. 5), that they were men of whom God was not ashamed (ver. 16), and 'of whom the world was not worthy' (ver. 38). Such is the writer's argument, and in the sequel of his discourse he makes good his position. The examples cited are all relevant as instances of the action of faith as defined; in all faith was the working power. The actions specified are important, having a foremost place in the *memorabilia* of Old Testament story. The actors are all worthy of honourable mention. Their characters bear the heroic stamp due in every case to their faith, even the least worthy, *e.g.* "the harlot Rahab," rising above moral commonplace into the lofty region of heroism through the redeeming power of a faith that could rightly interpret past events and shrewdly forecast the future.

The eloquent preacher makes good his case, yet in the end of his discourse he is constrained to make an important admission. "These all being witnessed to (*μαρτυρηθέντες*) through faith, received not the promises." That is to say, faith, as the assurance of things hoped for and the proof of

things not seen, helped them to live well, so that God and discerning men could give them a certificate of nobility; but that of which faith assured them, the things hoped for, they did not obtain. They got their certificate of character, and—nothing more. Does this not look like saying that faith entices men into a heroic, arduous career that will win for them a barren renown, by promises of a future which in the form these assume to the imagination will never be realized? It does; and the fact is even so, and it is a great fact in human experience, this “illusiveness of life”—a bitter fact till it is understood and accepted as an essential element in the Divine discipline of character. The writer of our epistle would not conceal the truth from his readers, even though it might tend to defeat his purpose, to inspire them with the spirit of fortitude, by suggesting depressing, pessimistic thoughts and dark questions whether it was worth while living nobly if the end was to be disappointment. But he skilfully contrives, while admitting the fact, to put such a construction on the disappointing experience of Old Testament saints that it shall encourage rather than depress: “God providing something better concerning us, that they without us should not be made perfect” (ver. 40). That is to say: first, our experience is not to be as theirs, in our case the promise shall be fulfilled; second, even in their case the disappointment was not final and absolute, it was only a case of deferred fulfilment, that we and they might, by the fulfilment of our common hopes, be perfected together. The author conceives of the end of the world as at hand, and of the age of fulfilment as approaching, bringing with it the realization of all religious ideals—the perfect pardon of sin, the heavenly country, the city which hath the foundations, whose architect and builder is God: bringing these alike to the “elders” and to those on whom the ends of the world are come, doubled in value to all by common participation.

The witnessed or certificated ones (*μαρτυρηθέντες*, xi. 39) next become a great cloud of *witnesses* (*νέφος μαρτύρων*, xii. 1), gathered around the men now undergoing trial on earth, the spectators in imagination, if not in literal fact, of their behaviour, and bearing testimony by their recorded lives to the power of faith, and by their faithfulness even unto death encouraging their suffering brethren to play the man and to run their appointed race strenuously and persistently till they have reached the goal. It is a spirit-stirring scene that is thus by a few felicitous phrases brought before our view; but the eye is not allowed to rest on it. For among the cloud of witnesses that constitute the ideal spectatorship of the race One stands out conspicuous above all the rest—JESUS, the Captain and Perfecter of faith, the Man who first perfectly realized the idea of living by faith, and who thereby became the Model and Leader of all the faithful, to whom they look as their pattern, and from whose heroic behaviour they draw their inspiration. Therefore our author, having suggested the idea of a cloud of witnesses, consisting of all in past ages who have a fair and honourable record, hastens to point out the great central Personality, and ask his readers to fix their attention on Him, saying in effect: "Conscious of that imposing crowd, run your race; but before all, run it, if you would run well, looking unto Jesus." What will they see there? One who undauntedly endured the bitter suffering of the cross, and who despised the ignominy of it, sustained by a faith that so vividly realized coming joy and glory as to obliterate the consciousness of present pain and shame: One moreover in whose case it is clearly seen that faith is no deceiver, making promises that will never be fulfilled; for, behold, the crucified One is now set down on the right hand of the throne of God! "Consider Him," continues the preacher, with eloquent urgency. "Compare His experience with your own, and your own with His, and extract from the com-

parison consolatory lessons. Realize first of all that the experiences are comparable, that they belong to the same category of the trial and triumph of faith, that Jesus and you have been brothers in tribulation, and may be brothers in bliss. Then, having mastered the truth that the experiences of the Leader and the led are analogous,¹ note further that the experience of the Leader differs from that of the led, though not in kind, yet in degree. He was by far the greater sufferer. What humiliating contradiction of sinners,² by word and deed, in life and in death, He endured! what blasphemies against the Son of man, 'drunkard, glutton, boon companion of publicans and sinners'! what ribald indignities, before and during the crucifixion! Ye have not endured anything like that. Ye have not been crucified; ye know little of the hatred, contempt, and reviling, that are worse than violent death."

From this topic, the example of Jesus, fertile in consolation, the writer easily passes to another, also fruitful of instruction, the uses of affliction (xii. 5-13). Here the chief feature of didactic interest is the manner in which the writer brings the hard experiences of life under the viewpoint of man's filial relation to God. This mention of the fatherhood of God, just after referring to the earthly trials of Christ, suggests the thought that our author has present to his mind Christ's habit of calling God His Father, and the comfort and peace He derived from that name. He cites indeed, not the gospels, but the book of Proverbs; it is possible nevertheless that he draws his inspiration, not from Solomon, but from Jesus. One cannot help feeling that under such expressions as the "contradiction of sinners," "the Father of spirits," there lurks a familiar

¹ ἀναλογισασθε, ver. 3.

² The reading, "sinners against themselves" (ἐς ἑαυτοῦς), becomes credible if, with Bishop Westcott, we find in the phrase an allusion to the rebellion of Korah and his companions, who, in Num. xvi. 38, are described as "sinners against their own souls."

acquaintance with the evangelic tradition of the life of the Son of man, and with His doctrine of God and man and their mutual relations. The teacher of the Hebrews understands the filial consciousness of Jesus as it found expression in the prayer, "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth," and knows that it meant for Him loyal submission, perfect trust, intimate, joyful fellowship, and absolute independence in His attitude toward the world; and it is his desire that those to whom he writes may attain unto the same filial consciousness, with all its spiritual blessedness. It would have been gratifying had this part of his exhortation contained a single distinct allusion to the gospel records of Christ's sayings. But, alas! the Hebrew Christians were so far below the breezy, bracing heights of sonship in the dank, misty hollows of legalism, that their teacher is constrained to extract for their benefit the elements of the doctrine of a paternal providence from Old Testament texts; these truths, *viz.* that God does regard men as His children; that sorrowful experiences reveal His fatherly love, are the chastisement He administers to those He counts sons; that the aim of all His discipline is to make men partakers of His holiness—an end worthy of Him, and supremely important for them.

This end—holiness—next becomes the subject of discourse. That you should be truly holy is God's great purpose in all His dealings with you: make it your own great business to be God-consecrated men; guard sedulously against moral stains; remissness here may be fatal; holiness becometh Christians in view of their position and privileges—such is the drift of the following section (xii. 12-29). We notice here for the first time a distinct reference to evil conduct as a possible source of danger: "Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, who for one meal sold his own birthright" (ver. 16). The word *πόρνος* is not to be spiritualized; we ought rather to find in it a hint

that in the Hebrew Church, besides defective insight into and appreciation of the Christian religion, and a timid, unheroic temper, there was a third evil influence at work exposing them to shipwreck, a tendency to vulgar immorality, sensualism in diverse forms—a base, ignoble, Esau-like preference of immediate enjoyment, present gratification of animal appetite, to the honourable vocation and destiny of sons of God, a state of mind well deserving to be stigmatized as “profane” (βέβηλος). To what extent this tendency prevailed we can only conjecture; but it may be assumed that a writer characterized by a delicate reserve would not have mentioned the topic at all, unless it had been urgent; and the emphasis and iteration of his admonition, “looking to it that there be no one falling from the grace of God, no root of bitterness springing up in gall,¹ no fornicator or profane person,” is very ominous. Then all history tells that a transition time in religion, when an old faith is passing away and a new one is coming in, is apt to be a time characterized by a dissolution of morals. Such an age presents startling contrasts: here, fanatical attachment to the past; there heroic devotion to the new revelation; in a third class, unsettlement in opinion, scepticism, licentiousness. This bad leaven of doubt accompanied by moral laxity seems to have been at work in the Hebrew Church, and in proportion as it was it made the chance of success in an effort to bring them to a better mind infinitesimally small. The profane person who prefers the mess of pottage to the heavenly calling is doomed. There is no place of repentance for him; he does not even, like Esau, desire

¹ Ενοχλῆ, ver. 15, is the undisputed reading; but there is probability in the suggestion that the two letters *ox* had been at an early date transposed in transcription, and that the original reading was ἐν χολῇ, as in Deuteronomy xxix. 18, which the writer has in his mind and here quotes. Rendall adopts this reading, and Westcott more cautiously simply alludes to it in a bracketed remark: “The strange coincidence of letters between ΕΝΟΧΛΗ and ΕΝΧΟΛΗ of Deut. xxix. 18 cannot escape notice.”

it: he habitually despises his birthright. And such a man is a curse to the community in which he lives. He is a plant whose root sucks poison from the soil, and which bears fruit death-bringing to all who partake of it.

But charity hopeth all things; therefore, in spite of the presence among them of the Esau-spirit, the friend of the Hebrew Christians persists in pressing on their attention their heavenly birthright, and in a passage of majestic eloquence brings before their minds all the august, sacred realities of the new dispensation, each and all enforcing the admonition, Be holy. To make the argument more impressive it is put in the form of a contrast between the awe-inspiring phenomena of the lawgiving and the still more solemn, while also more genial, surroundings of one whose lot is cast in the Christian era: "Ye have not come to Sinai; ye have come to Zion." The argument is *à fortiori*: Your fathers, when they approached the mount of lawgiving, had to prepare themselves and make themselves technically holy;¹ how much more ought ye to be holy "in all manner of conversation"—ye who are surrounded by things of a higher order: not sensible, but spiritual; not transient, but abiding; not inspiring mere abject terror, but the higher, godly fear of reverence!

For detailed exegesis this eloquent passage, forming the splendid finale to the exhortation to steadfastness commencing at chap. x. 19, presents a variety of difficult problems relating to the text,² the bearing of individual expressions,³ and the scope of the whole. For a general survey like the present the last of these topics is alone of importance. It

¹ Exod. xix. 14-25.

² It is doubtful whether *δοξε* belongs to the text in ver. 18. If it be omitted we get the sense, "Ye are not come unto a palpable and burning fire," or "a material and kindled fire," as Westcott renders it.

³ It is disputed whether "the general assembly and Church of the first-born" refer to angels, or form a distinct class of citizens; *viz.* Christian men on earth, whose names are written in heaven.

has been disputed whether we are to find in the contrast between the two dispensations a single or a double antithesis : that between the sensible and supersensible, physical and spiritual alone; or also one between the terrifying character of the earlier dispensation and the gracious, winsome character of the later. In favour of the former view are the facts that the immediate aim of the contrast is to present an incitement to holiness, that fear is regarded by the writer as an element in the New Testament religion not less than in the old (ver. 28), and that God is referred to, not as the Father, as one would expect in an attempt to describe the grace of the New Testament, but as the Judge (ver. 23), and is even declared in the sequel to be a consuming fire (ver. 29). In view of these facts, it might seem as if the gracious aspect of some of the things enumerated, as in the clauses referring to "Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant," and to "the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than that of Abel," were accidental to the aim of the writer, or not present to his view at all. But the holiness and the fear of the Christian are different from those of Israel at Sinai. They are such as are producible, not by material fire, but by association with the spiritual commonwealth of which God is the head. They are the holiness and the fear of those who are themselves citizens. The grace lies in admission to citizenship, and privilege is the source of obligation. The moral is : Be thankful for membership in such an august society, and strive to be worthy of it. In the writer's own words : "We, receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us be thankful,¹ and in the spirit of thankfulness serve God acceptably with godly fear and awe."

The designation "kingdom," here used for the good that

¹ Ἐχωμεν χάριν. Westcott remarks : "The use of the phrase *χάριν ἔχειν* elsewhere in the New Testament is strongly in favour of the sense, 'let us feel and show thankfulness to God.'"

came to the world through Jesus Christ, suggests that at this point, as in his doctrine of God's paternal providence, the writer may have had present to his mind the teaching of our Lord as recorded in the synoptical gospels. But here, as in the other instance, the express allusion is not to the evangelic tradition, but to the Hebrew Scriptures. The train of thought commencing with "see that ye refuse not Him that speaketh" (ver. 25), and ending with the words just quoted (ver. 28), is suggested, and in expression coloured, by an oracle of the prophet Haggai, intended to encourage the people of Israel, returned from exile, in the work of rebuilding the temple, by assuring them that the second house should be greater than the first, and that the kingdom of Judah should again be established, though it should be necessary to shake the heavens and the earth, and to overturn all other kingdoms, in order to achieve the result (Hag. ii.). This prophecy the writer regards as Messianic, and from it he takes occasion to draw what we may call a supplementary contrast between the Sinaitic and the Christian revelations, so as still further to deepen the sense of responsibility in those who are the recipients of the latter. In both cases God spoke to men; by what agents, whether angels, Moses, or Christ, is here left out of account. But in the earlier revelation he spake "on earth" (*ἐπὶ γῆς*, ver. 25), in the later "from heaven" (*ἀπ' οὐρανῶν*, ver. 25); earth meaning the place of shadows, heaven the place of realities. In the first case God's voice shook the earth, not the whole earth, but Mount Sinai and its environment: "the whole mount quaked greatly" (Exod. xix. 18); in the second, the Divine voice, according to the prophetic oracle, was to shake, "not the earth only, but also heaven" (ver. 26), the whole universe of being—a statement implying the universal character of Christianity: God's voice in Christ concerns the whole world. And the shaking produced by this voice, presumably, though the

fact is not expressly indicated, is of a different nature from that which took place at Sinai—a moral, not a physical earthquake. In the mind of the writer probably, as in our Lord's apocalyptic discourse, as recorded in the gospels, the material and the spiritual aspects are mixed up, the shaking affecting the frame of nature, the fortunes of nations, the minds of men, causing stars, thrones, city walls, temples, effete religions, to tumble down into one vast mass of ruin. Lastly, God's first voice, being a voice spoken on earth, like all things earthly, is transient; God's second voice, spoken from heaven, is final and, with all that it creates, eternal. The transiency of the first voice, with the system of things it belongs to, is implied in the prophetic expression, "yet once more" (*ἔτι ἅπαξ*, ver. 26). It implies that the order of things to which the first voice belonged was not satisfactory or fitted to abide. It implies further that the order of things to be ushered in by the second voice will remain. For God is to speak only this one time more—once for all. Thus the voice of God uttered in the end of the days through His Son signifies, on the one hand, the removal of all things capable of being shaken because "made," material, earthly; and, on the other, the establishment of an order that shall be permanent, unshakable, because not "made" after the fashion of the sensible world, spiritual, heavenly—the bringing in in power and glory of the kingdom of heaven.

With what sublime serenity the author of our epistle contemplates the destruction of the old world and the birth-pangs of the new, albeit the process involves much that is disastrous, tragic, awful to think of, for the people to which his readers belong! It is the calm of faith: of one who understands what is going on, who knows that, whatever may perish, there is always something of priceless worth that remains; that, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of

the sea, and the waters thereof roar and be troubled, there is a river of life, a strong refuge, a city of God, a "kingdom which cannot be moved." One who has this faith passes quietly and peacefully through the perils of a transition time, when the hearts of those who do not understand and believe fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth.

The long exhortation to Christian steadfastness is ended. What remains of the epistle, chap. xiii., is an epilogue, containing, in addition to sundry ethical precepts (vers. 1-6), a passage bearing on the main theme, which lets us see how difficult the writer found it to take final leave of his subject, doubtless due to a fear that, after all he had written, he had failed to accomplish his purpose (vers. 7-14). The drift of this postscript is: cleave to Christ and the Christian faith by all means and at all hazards. Be moved to do so by the memory of deceased apostolic teachers; contemplating the issue of their life, their death in faith, some of them in martyrdom, imitate these believing, faithful men. Be moved also and above all by the consideration that in the great Object of our faith we have One that can satisfy all spiritual needs. Jesus Christ is yesterday, and to-day, the same, and for ever. What He was to your departed instructors He can still be to you. Cling to Him as your sympathetic Brother, Captain, and High Priest. Be not carried away from Him by Judaistic teachings in reference to meats, etc., foreign to the genius of the Christian faith, and valueless to one whose heart is established with grace. Break finally with Judaism, forsake the synagogue, go forth "without the camp," bearing cheerfully any reproach in fidelity to Him who "suffered without the gate." Ye must make your choice between Christianity and Judaism. Ye cannot amalgamate the two. As the victim slain for sin on the Day of Atonement was not eaten by the priests, but

removed without the camp and burned, so those who cling to the Levitical system can have no part in the great Christian sacrifice which was offered up on Calvary outside the gate of Jerusalem. To share in the benefit of that sacrifice you also must go outside, no matter what it may cost. Here once more we note the affinity between the writer of our epistle and the Apostle Paul in pressing on half-hearted Christians prone to compromise the inexorable "either—or." "Either the law, or faith," said Paul; "Either the Levitical ritual, or the one sacrifice of Christ, offered through the eternal Spirit," says the unknown inspired man who wrote this marvellous book.

A. B. BRUCE.

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING ON THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT OF SIN.

V. THE SYNOPTIST GOSPELS.

In the Synoptist Gospels, punishment by fire at the end of the world occupies a position much more conspicuous than it has in the Epistles of Paul and in the Fourth Gospel. This conspicuous element of New Testament teaching demands now our careful attention.

The Baptist, as recorded in Matthew iii. 10, Luke iii. 9, compares worthless men to barren fruit trees which are "cut down and cast into fire." Similarly, in Matthew iii. 12, Luke iii. 17: "He will gather His wheat into the garner, but the chaff He will burn up with fire unquenchable." This last word denotes evidently an irresistible destruction, from which there is no rescue. It is found again in a more terrible context in Mark ix. 43. The fate of the barren trees is re-echoed word for word by Christ in Matthew vii. 19. Similarly, chapter xiii. 30: "Collect first the tares, and bind them into bundles to burn them up,

but gather the wheat into My garner." The slight variety of metaphor makes more conspicuous the element common to all these passages; *viz.* the destruction of vegetable matter by fire. And, than this, no destruction is more complete and final.

In Matthew xviii. 8 we have the phrase, "cast into the eternal fire;" and in chapter xxv. 41, "the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels." And already we have seen that the word *eternal* denotes duration extending to the speaker's mental horizon.

In connexion with the metaphor now before us, we find, in Matthew v. 22, "the Gehenna of fire." The word *Gehenna* occurs again in verses 29, 30, "cast into Gehenna;" and "the Gehenna of fire," in chapter xviii. 9. So chapter x. 28: "Fear Him that is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna." The same word is in Mark ix. 43 used as an equivalent of "the unquenchable fire." It is found also in Luke xii. 5. Thus in each of the Synoptist Gospels the Valley of Hinnom is used as the symbolic locality of the future punishment of sin.

This singular reference to a valley close to Jerusalem is explained in Jeremiah vii. 31: "They have built the high places of Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire." Similarly, chapter xix. 4-7: "Because they have forsaken Me, . . . and have built the high places of Baal, to burn their sons in the fire for burnt offerings unto Baal: . . . therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that this place shall no more be called Topheth, nor The valley of the son of Hinnom, but The valley of Slaughter."

Whether or not the victims of these idolatrous sacrifices were burnt alive, we do not know. But our Lord's use of the metaphor of fire to describe the punishment of sin suggests irresistibly intense suffering, like that caused by

burning. For the metaphor is evidently designed to teach the tremendous punishment awaiting sinners. But the mere burning of one already slain adds nothing to the punishment inflicted. It is therefore impossible to doubt that our Lord, as His teaching is recorded in the passages quoted above, used the word *fire* in order to convey the idea, not only of irreversible ruin, but of intense suffering.

This idea of conscious suffering in connexion with the metaphor of punishment by fire is placed beyond doubt, and is thrust into marked prominence, in Matthew xiii. 42: "Shall cast them into the furnace of fire; there shall be the wailing and the gnashing of teeth." The exact repetition of these words in verse 50 adds to their awful significance. The wail of anguish proclaims, in language which cannot be misunderstood, the conscious torment of those who suffer this fearful punishment. The same words are found again, in chapter xxiv. 51, as a description of the lot of the hypocrites; and in chapters viii. 12, xxii. 13, xxv. 30 as a description of "the outer darkness." The occurrence six times of this remarkable phrase, in five chapters of the First Gospel, reveals its large place in the thought of Christ, and the deep impression made by it on the mind of the Evangelist. But it is worthy of note that in all these passages nothing is said either about the end or the endlessness of this severe suffering. The curtain is lifted for a moment several times, revealing a vision of anguish; but we have no indication of its duration.

An equally terrible description, from the lips of Christ, of the future punishment of sin is given in Mark ix. 43-48. It is no casual allusion, but a most solemn threefold delineation of the fate of the lost, supporting a most startling threefold exhortation. After announcing the reward of those who perform even the least service for His disciples, our Lord threatens terrible punishment for those who lead them astray. He then turns to his hearers, and

three times bids them make the greatest earthly sacrifices, even to surrender hand or foot or eye, rather than to "go away to Gehenna." This last word, Christ at once expounds by the addition, "to the fire unquenchable." In the second warning we have simply the phrase, "cast into Gehenna." In the third, we have the same phrase with the remarkable addition, "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." These added words are evidently parallel to the words, "fire unquenchable," in the first warning.

This remarkable phrase, which occurs in the New Testament only here, recalls at once the closing words of the prophecy of Isaiah. The prophet sees a new heaven and a new earth. And in that new world, from month to month and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh will come to worship before God. Yet, amid that glory, the glorified ones will go forth and behold the corpses of those who have sinned. Manifestly, therefore, not all men will share that final glory. For the visible corpses of the rebellious ones proclaim the doom of the spirits which in those bodies once sinned against God. This dark shadow falling so terribly across the bright vision, Isaiah deepens by saying that "their-worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched." The undying worm suggests the continuance of the awful spectacle. For, if there were no corpses to feed upon, the worm would die. And if there were no fuel the fire would be extinguished. In this last sense the Greek word here used by the LXX. is found in Matthew xxv. 8, where the foolish maidens say that for want of oil their lamps *are going out*: *σβέννυσται*. For these sinners there is, therefore, no rescue: else the worm would die for lack of food, and the fire be extinguished through lack of fuel.

The plain reference of this passage to the new heaven and earth, when the old things have passed away, proves that the fire and worm are metaphorical. And this is

placed beyond doubt by the impossibility of the same corpse being consumed by fire and by worms. Moreover, the trees and chaff and tares are manifestly metaphorical. So must be the fire which destroys them. In other words, the passages before us do not in the least degree imply or suggest that the wicked will be punished by material fire.

The prophet adds that the lost ones "shall be an abhorrence to all flesh;" *i.e.* to the worshippers who in verse 23 are so described. The word *abhorrence* occurs again in a similar context in Daniel xii. 2: "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to eternal life, and some to shame and eternal abhorrence."

The collocation of fire and worm is found also in Judith xvi. 17: "The Lord Almighty will take vengeance on them in the day of judgment, putting fire and worms into their flesh; they shall feel them, and wail for ever." The "fire and worms" here are evidently instruments of suffering. So Ecclesiasticus vii. 17: "The vengeance of the ungodly is fire and worm." These passages suggest that this combined metaphor was not uncommon among the Jews to describe the future punishment of sin.

These words of Isaiah our Lord adds to the terrible picture in Mark ix. 48 as a description of Gehenna. Indisputably the reference is the same in both places. And in each place the words suggest a continuance of punishment. Whether they were designed to suggest pain, like that caused by a worm preying on a living body, we cannot say with certainty. But this is evidently the suggestion in Judith xvi. 17. And we have seen that fire conveys irresistibly the idea of intense suffering. Perhaps the Saviour's chief aim was to recall, in support of His own teaching, the ancient prophecy of Isaiah.

In Matthew v. 25 the lost are said to be cast into a prison from which they will not escape till they have paid the last farthing. But these words add nothing to the results

already gained. They contain no indication whether or not the debt will some day be paid and the prison door opened, but merely assert that, until the debt is paid, the prison will remain closed.

In Matthew xii. 32 we read, "Whoever may speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this age, nor in that which is to come." But it is utterly unsafe to infer from this negative assertion that for some sins there is forgiveness beyond the grave. On the other hand, it reveals to us sin unforgiven throughout the age of ages to be introduced by the great day, an age extending to the farthest limit of human thought. It thus confirms much other teaching in the New Testament that the sentence of that day will be final.

The word *tormentors* in Matthew xviii. 34 will be discussed in our next paper.

In Matthew xxv. 41 our Lord foretells that in the great day He will say to those on His left hand, "Depart, ye cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels." And in verse 46 He announces the fulfilment of this awful curse: "These shall go away to eternal punishment, but the righteous to life eternal." Evidently, "eternal punishment" is an equivalent to "eternal fire."

The Greek word here used and its cognate verb are used by classical writers for the pruning of trees, the cutting away of anything superfluous, and the restraining of what would otherwise go beyond bounds. They are also used not unfrequently in the sense of punishment. Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric*, bk. i. 10, distinguishes the word *κολάζω* used here from *τιμωρέω* used in Acts xxii. 5, xxvi. 11, by saying that the former is punishment for the good of him who suffers it, the latter for the satisfaction of him who inflicts it. But, that this distinction is not universal, even in classical Greek, we learn from Euripides, *Helen*, l. 1172, where we read of punishment by death, *θανάτω τοὺς κακοὺς*

κολάζομεν, which could not be remedial. The same word is used in Acts iv. 21 : "They let them go, finding nothing how they might punish them." And certainly the idea of the moral benefit of punishment was very far from the thought of those who were unable to punish the Apostles. The same word is found elsewhere in the New Testament only in 2 Peter ii. 9, 1 John iv. 18. The verb and substantive occur sixteen times in the Book of Wisdom, and three times in the Books of Maccabees. But not once in the LXX. or in the New Testament does the context suggest the idea of remedial punishment, or anything beyond the penalty of wrong-doing.

The punishment awaiting those condemned at the Great Assize is in Matthew xxv. 46 said to be *eternal*. This last word denotes, as we have already seen, duration extending to the limit of the speaker's mental vision. As used by Christ, it suggests that even the piercing eye of the Incarnate Son saw no limit to the punishment which in that day He will inflict. And that immediately afterwards the same adjective is by Him thought worthy to describe the life awaiting the righteous, which must be absolutely endless, adds definiteness to the word when used by Christ to describe the fate of the lost.

It may be asked whether *punishment* necessarily involves actual suffering, and therefore consciousness. So large a proportion of punishment involves suffering, that the word at once suggests this idea. But there are forms of punishment which are merely a deprivation of good, apart from actual suffering. Indeed a child who, instead of going to an entertainment, is put to bed and goes to sleep, may be said to be undergoing punishment even while asleep. For, had he not misconducted himself, he would have been awake and in pleasure. Taken by itself, it seems to me that the word *punishment* does not imply consciousness, and that *eternal punishment* does not necessarily involve endless suffering.

But these solemn words of Christ do not stand alone. A lurid light is cast upon them by other words of the Great Teacher. The eternal punishment in verse 46 is evidently equivalent to "the eternal fire" in verse 41. And, as we have seen, the word *fire* was apparently chosen by Christ to convey the idea of acute suffering. If the punishment be fire, it must be suffering; and the punishment is here said to be eternal.

In Mark xiv. 21, our Lord says of Judas, "It were good for him if that man had not been born." But if, after ages of suffering, the traitor were at last admitted into the endless and infinite blessedness of the saved, that blessedness would be worth having, even at the cost of the terrible suffering preceding it. It would, in the light of eternity, in which light Christ ever spoke, be better for him to be born, and cast into the lake of fire, and then pass into eternal life, rather than never to have existed. These solemn words, at the most solemn crisis of the life of Christ, seem to me to be little or nothing less than an assertion that Judas will never enter the rest of heaven.

The Synoptist Gospels have added materially to our reproduction of the teaching of the New Testament about the future punishment of sin. Already from the Epistles of Paul and from the Fourth Gospel we had learnt that the fate of the lost will be ruin utter and final. And St. Paul, by teaching that punishment will be in proportion to sins committed, and consequently capable of increase, had implied that the punishment inflicted in the great day will not be immediate annihilation, which would be alike to all, but a graduated punishment, involving at least a temporary consciousness. This slight indication of conscious suffering beyond the last judgment has now received terrible confirmation. The door of the eternal prison has been in a measure opened by the hand of Christ, and through it we have heard a voice of wailing and gnashing of teeth. And

the metaphor of fire, already used by Christ as His words are recorded in the Fourth Gospel, has received an extension which can be explained only as intended to convey the idea of acute suffering. The wailing is not expressly said to be endless; but we find no suggestion whatever of escape from it. And the fire is twice said to be eternal. A casual remark of Christ recorded in the Second Gospel implies most clearly that Judas will never enter heaven; and this one case involves the possibility that others also may be finally lost. It thus confirms the express teaching of Paul already adduced.

It may be objected that the above exposition contradicts both the infinite mercy of God and the moral sense of man, and that against these a mere grammatical investigation of the meaning of words has no authority. This objection introduces considerations which I have no wish to ignore. But my chief purpose in these papers is to reproduce, in the dry light of grammar and exegesis, the sense which the writers of the New Testament intended to convey on this solemn subject. And this must be, to all who believe in the historic Christ, an all-important factor of the case. To justify the results of this inquiry at the bar of the moral sense is in great part beyond the scope of these papers, and beyond the writer's ability. But when our exposition is complete, we will for a moment look at the results gained, in the light of the moral sense of man and of the character of God.

The Book of Acts does not add materially to the teaching of the rest of the New Testament on the great subject before us.

In another paper I hope to discuss the teaching of the Epistles of Peter and Jude and of the Book of Revelation.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD.

"I am the light of the world: he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."—JOHN viii. 12.

THESE are lovely words, and they shine with a still lovelier light when we read them in connexion with the circumstances under which the great Speaker spoke them.

In the morning which followed the nocturnal festivities that brought to a close the Feast of Tabernacles, we find Him return to the temple from His nightly asylum on Olivet. It was in the early morning, when the October sun was only rising. We know where He took His stand to address the people. Three courts had to be crossed in going inwards, up stair after stair and through gate after gate, towards the Most Holy Place. The outermost of the three was called the Women's Court. Along one side of it ran a row of treasure chambers for keeping sacred vessels, dresses, bullion, and other valuables of the temple. In front of these chambers, under the open sky, stood thirteen collection boxes in a row, inscribed with the several purposes for which the offerings of the faithful were to be applied. In the same wide court stood a couple of enormous gilded lampstands, with their sevenfold branching lights, around which a few hours before the festal crowd of merry-makers had danced and sung through the early night. The place wore a very different aspect now. The candelabra indeed are still there, but the lights are out. For the flickering yellow glare of oil lamps there is now the serene pure light of an autumn dawn, growing momentarily more strong as the sun, hardly yet visible, climbs over the shoulder of the Eastern hill to kindle the stones of the temple once more into beauty. Gone is the noisy crowd of last night. Many of the pilgrims are by this time setting out on their way back to their distant homes. The deserted court is quiet enough. Only groups of early morning wor-

shippers have arrived, and official frequenters who have business at the temple. Now therefore can the still small voice of heaven's wisdom be heard by such as are early at her gates, the voice which had been drowned last night in the revelry of a dance by torch-light. Now that the earthly fires are all burnt out before the sweet and solemn return of heaven's own sun, does Jesus gather the worshippers about Him in the Treasury and say: "I am the light of the world: he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."

This saying belongs to a series of magnificent utterances of Jesus respecting Himself, such as find no parallel on the lips of any other man. One after another, He appropriated in succession nature's chief emblems for Himself: the bread that endures, the living water, the pathway to God, the door to life, the true shepherd of souls; but before and above all these, the sun-light of the world. It is true, He need not have limited the emblem so much as He here does. He might have said, "I am light," not "the light of this world." In the primitive record we read that there was light before there was a sun. God is the absolute light, not centred into any sun, but filling all things with a glory too luminous and intense to find a fit emblem in creation. We confess the eternal Son to be "Light of light," the effulgence or forthshining to the creature of that unvisitable glory, "dark with excess of light"; and therefore the eternal Son might have said of Himself with equal truth, "I am light"—very light to all the worlds, and for ever. But He contracts His testimony. He speaks as the Son of man, the Saviour of men. It is His special relation to our evil obscured race which He has here in view, as born among us to be our Light-restorer, the Man who is a centre of illumination for all other men. The whole fallen family of mankind sat in moral night. His coming was the sunrise. His presence is the sunshine.

Even as thus narrowed, this claim on the lips of a Jew to be Himself the Light of the world was surely a most astounding one. Think how it disparaged the previous illumination of His countrymen! The vaunted history of His nation had been a history of Divine enlightenment. Jehovah had discovered Himself to Israel. As the Promiser of salvation and the Hope of holiness to men, God's express and chosen symbol had been light. In various forms had the Divine Presence been made luminous, visible, to the generations before the incarnation. The Old Testament is full of it. The whole conception of the chosen people is that of a tiny, inclosed spot, fenced from outlying pagan darkness, in which there shone through the centuries a sacred knowledge of God and of the way to God, not shared by any other people upon earth. Yet Jesus virtually declares all that previous illumination of the Hebrews to have been only like pale starlight, or like a candelabrum shining by night. Not till He came had day really dawned. I do not deem it an over-refinement to detect some hint of this in the Old Testament itself. So long as the Divine law still asked its due, and the way of peace with God had not been laid quite open, the symbol of the Divine Presence in Israel was never pure, simple daylight, never that sunshine which is gracious in its warmth and quickens all the earth into life. It was rather fire than sunshine: the light of a flame, a heat terribly candescent, with tongues of fire to devour and a central glow to scorch. At Eden, this symbol of God flickered like a flaming sword; to Abraham, it was a burning lamp; out of the bush, a fire of which the wonder was that it did not consume; from Sinai, lightning; and even within the veil, a consuming cloud, perilous to approach, because death lurked within its fiery glory. Everywhere the prominent emblem of that Old Testament illumination is rather the flame than the sunlight—flame, whose first business is to burn, and which

only in its burning lightens. In such significant guise did the personal God as yet appear to men who were still unreconciled. Or if there was, even under the pre-Christian time, some more kindly prefiguration of Christ as simply the Light that lighteneth every man, I question if there be any better than just that seven-branched candlestick of gold which Zechariah saw in his vision; the same which stood beside Jesus as He spoke, and which had lit up Jerusalem in the revelry of the previous evening. Such was that Old Testament economy of revelation. As a night-lamp it was perfect enough, sevenfold, set on high to lighten Judah; but at its best still no better than a lamp by night. Day was not come to the Hebrew saints, and they knew it. Theirs was a time for keeping of vigils and patient looking for the dawn. And the glory of the holy people lay just here, that they had a lamp to trim and sit by, under the promise of whose shining they might await the coming of One who was to be more than the consolation of Israel, even a light to enlighten the Gentiles. Emphatically He was, and He claimed to be, not Israel's lamp, but the world's sun.

Think too how this claim of Jesus set aside all the wisdom that was in the world before Him—the speculation, the science, and the reasonings of pagan thinkers about God and the universe. Men who have to live in the dark must strike some sort of light for themselves to see to live by, some earth-begotten spark, which will serve their turn in the absence of the sun. So, before Christ, and apart from Him, the nations have not been able to do without some scanty and faint conceptions of God, and destiny, and duty, and immortality—such broken rays as can be found in nature or in man's own being, eked out by painful and uncertain guesses as to the meaning of life, the *whence* and *whither* of human existence. These pale and dubious systems, theosophies, cosmogonies, and what not—such as

they are—are good only for the more cultured minds in heathendom ; they leave the mass of pagan populations in utter ignorance of God and of themselves, a prey to superstition and the fantastic fears that haunt the darkness. The coming of Christ to the ancient pagan world was like the opening of a window shutter in a long-closed, foul chamber, where man had groped for long amid the shadows in a gloom hardly broken by a taper. It lit up earth and heaven. It made men know God and themselves. It brought reason into their faith, hope into their religion. It gave assurance where there had been only guess-work. It translated them (in Paul's strong words) out of the realm of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son. God spake, and, lo, there was light !

Wonderful image for the greatest spiritual change this world has known ! A sun sent of God to rise upon our night, to shine for ever in our sky. How poor do last night's burnt-out tapers look in the pale, transparent dawn ! How feverish and unreal the trouble of the night when cool day brings back health to the eyes ! How sweet is the pure dayspring, when it comes flushing up the east, unloosing the tongues of nature, cooling the sick man's fever, making even mourners forget their weeping, and flooding the footsteps of labour with a true and equal light ! That is all a parable of the coming of Jesus to the world, or to each man's heart ! The calm truth there is in the sunlight, the hopefulness of its rising when it makes all things new, the brilliancy of its noon, its warming, kindling, quickening, gladdening virtue : all these I love to think of as pressed into the praise of our Lord Jesus. Let us thank Him for that word, " I am the Light of this world ! "

It was, when He made it that day, an astounding, almost an incredible, pretension. Even when He went straight out from saying it and gave sight to eyes that had never seen, it was still almost more than men could credit. But

has not this astounding claim been magnificently verified? Whatever mists or storms may have since wrapt about His gospel and at times shut out His light, can any thoughtful man deny that, ever since Jesus lived, He has continued to shine in history like a sun, or that to this hour He is the chief light that is risen above human horizon? Take any of the cardinal vital questions for which men need answers, and blot out all that we have learned from the New Testament, and see what will remain to you for an answer!

The being and character of God, for example. Set aside what Jesus Christ has taught us of our Father in heaven, if you can; go back, if you can, to try again the old pagan way to find out God, through science, reasoning, and guesses: what better result do you reach, what clearer or surer light have you, than a Greek philosopher or a Hindu pantheist? If there dwells before the soul of even the humblest Christian child a conception of the great spiritual Father, as at once just and tender, as near and beneficent and helpful, as patient and generous and considerate and forgiving, as One to be wholly leant on, worthy to be loved with a noble, secure affection: from whom has that conception been learnt? From whom but from Jesus Christ? By simply discovering to us the Father as a real Person, who at once hates wrong and loves mercy, who is righteously gracious to every penitent, and ever beside us to aid in our contest with evil, as all that our conscience told us He must be to be just, yet more than our heart dared to hope He might be in His kindness—by simply (I say) unveiling the round, undistorted character of God through plain facts, Jesus has let in upon our souls a perfect flood of colourless, pellucid light. Set in this white light of God, we know where we stand, we see things as they are, we can tell with whom we have to do, and what it is He will do with us. We are rid of misconception. Our horizon grows wide; we have an outlook into the clear heaven.

We know our sin, it is true, as we did not before; we are more ashamed of it, but we are less afraid of it than we were. We are freed from abject alarms, born of distrust and ignorance. We see now how man is just with God. We see how man is to go to God. Death is no more a thing of dread. All the world wears another look. Partial lights, half truths, mis-shapen terrors, obscurities, lies, impotence against evil, despair of good: these all take wing before the face of God, they flee before His light. In the noblest of heathen sculptures (the Apollo with the Bow) there lay hid a half-conscious prophecy: that prophecy has been fulfilled. Arrows of light from God have stricken to death the old serpent of falsehood; spiritual fear has fled away; and the spiritual vices of despondency and sloth have followed after it. In the new day that is begun, a warm, human love breathes like an air out of the heart of God into our own heart. Like sunshine on the plants, does the favour of our Father rest warm and constant upon every soul that will bask in it. Health comes back to the moral nature; and with moral health comes hopeful labour in the light, and self-respect, and grave cheerfulness, and calm, reasoning courage. These are the graces of the Christian day.

To each of us this change comes when we not only *see* the light, but *let in* the light, for its blessed warmth's sake, and its comfort and refreshment. When the heart opens itself up to Christ, how the icy distrust and enmity within give way and melt before Him! how the soil of our nature turns to softness, and the strength of the affections goes up in love and praise and dutiful service to our true Lover and King on high! how the daily life bursts out in kindly activities and lovely tempers, even as the spring ground is glad to kindle and to bloom all over when the spring sun warms it! There are cold, shady places, even in the Christian's land—corners of our territory that face the pole,

from which you cannot see your Saviour's face nor feel the heat of a Father's heart lying upon your own. Into such chill regions of experience it is well not to wander. It is doleful work there. That is a cheerless, and it is a fruitless, land. To abide in sunlight, one must follow the sun and one must face the sun. He of us who so follows Jesus shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.

J. OSWALD DYKES.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF
CARDINAL NEWMAN.

It is not without reluctance that I have undertaken, at the editor's request, to place on record sundry personal recollections of the great Cardinal who has passed away. He has, more than any one other man, influenced my own life and career, whether for good or for evil it is hardly for me to say. I was still a schoolboy when the appearance of his *Apologia* in bi-monthly parts first attracted my attention to him, and thenceforward I was more and more conscious of his influence, though I never saw him until ten or eleven years later. I recollect eagerly buying his *Grammar of Assent* on its first appearance—my copy was doubtless the first one sold in Oxford—and reading it with intense though somewhat perplexed interest. The Vatican Council was sitting at the time, and the theological atmosphere was murky with the papal infallibility controversy. I did not at that time, nor at any subsequent time, attach the highest importance to that. It seemed to me, what it seems now, an internal domestic question of the Roman Church, practically settled in the affirmative long ago, and a matter of expediency or policy whether it should be formally decided or no. But the *Grammar of Assent* went to the roots of the whole difficult question of dogmatic faith, and it was pleasant to note the writer's cheery treatment of it, as he

passed from one subtle disquisition or ingenious illustration to another, apparently sublimely unconscious of the theological wrangle of the day. A few years later I was so impressed by the weight of his authority in the controversy between the Roman and Anglican Churches, while I was strenuously maintaining the position of the latter, that I had in view an elaborate criticism of his anti-Anglican utterances, hoping to show that from time to time he seriously contradicted himself, and relying not a little on the prevalent impression that he was not really at his ease within the Roman Church. When this contention became untenable in the face of the well-known sentence in the postscript to the second edition of his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* in reply to Mr. Gladstone's attack on *Vaticanism*, I found myself unable any longer to resist the strength of the many arguments which go to prove that, granted a mystical and ecclesiastical system is the legitimate outcome of primitive Christianity, the Roman Church has the best claim to be recognised exclusively as "the Church." It was to him that I went, almost as a matter of course, to be received into the Church; and, after a few months on the Continent, I lived for more than seven years as a member of his community, under the same roof, and for the greater part of the time in the closest intimacy with him. So much it seems necessary to say, if I am to claim to speak with any authority, as having had direct knowledge of the man, and not merely as a casual visitor, who may have had an hour's conversation with him from time to time; and the misgiving to which I have alluded is not due to any lack of opportunity for knowing his mind on a great variety of subjects, but to a consciousness that (as the proverb teaches is inevitable) proximity somewhat dwarfed the great idea I had formed of him from his writings and from the common repute. This is especially true of the four or five years that I knew him after he had become Cardinal; and yet at the

same time I do not wish to be taken to mean that this dwarfing process is true of all that I learnt about him. In some ways my respect and affection for him grew as I knew him better; and I have never ceased to feel towards him more tenderly than I have ever felt towards any other man, though for seven years I have now been separated from him by the same waves of theological controversy which before brought me to his feet. I shall therefore set down naught in malice, though I admit that my position will lay me open to suspicion of acting otherwise. There is however already, indeed there has long been, a mythical Newman, just as in High Anglican circles there is also a mythical Keble and a mythical Pusey. I may then be able to contribute something which will be serviceable hereafter to those who want to form a true idea of what the man actually was. An extended biography I have not been asked to write, and I have no idea of attempting it. Some of the details I record may be accounted trivial, but none, I think, are altogether without interest.

Newman was pre-eminently a theologian in the popular sense, as having experienced and closely scrutinised all the intimate facts of religious consciousness; but he was certainly not a typical Catholic theologian in the scientific sense. No doubt he read, when in Rome, so much of the scholastic philosophy and theology as was expected of him, but it never interested him. St. Athanasius was more to his taste; and I recollect that when Leo XIII. made sundry pronouncements in favour of an exclusive use of the writings of St. Thomas, and the Cardinal was in duty bound to write to his holiness approving and praising his action, he slipped in a saving clause, claiming that St. Athanasius was doubtless included in the papal recommendation. So again, without actively controverting the accepted Catholic position, that the existence of a personal God can be certainly known to man by the light of reason, in his view that knowledge

was rather a matter of intuition than of logic. And, doubtless with the most transparent sincerity, he maintained that God's existence was as clear to him as his own. I can recall the soft and reverent tones in which he would refer to such a topic, plainly conscious that where he trod was holy ground, and infusing faith into others more by a kind of magnetic sympathy than by argument. If I rightly understood him, it was impossible to "get behind" Divine faith. It was to be recognised as a fact whose existence could not be denied. He admitted that the conclusions of faith were more solid and certain than the premisses to which men appealed in support of them. But that was no matter, and did no discredit to those conclusions, which had a moral rather than an intellectual basis. His doctrine on this subject is best made clear by some brief *Theses de Fide* which he used as the text for a course of lectures delivered in 1877 to myself and two other members of the community.¹ He admitted that this doctrine had been condemned as dishonest (I think in a conversation he had held with Sir James Stephen), and he noted, with a transient expression of pain, that I had some sympathy with that view; but he did not think it necessary to do more than restate his position.

It is never easy to estimate what a man's historical knowledge may be unless he has written on that period which we have ourselves specially studied. A passing remark may attest insight, but not information. My impression is that in this respect Newman was vastly inferior to Döllinger. Of course there was a period which he had made his own, that of the Arian controversy; and here he was second to none. Doubtless too there were sundry episodes and sundry personages belonging to other epochs about which he had good information and clear and correct ideas. But of the earlier centuries he appeared

¹ A translation of these theses will be given in an appendix to these articles.

to know but little, and not to care much for what could be known; while he scarcely entered upon the great field of Church history subsequent to the days of Arianism and extending to our own times. Of course he had the knowledge of it that every educated person has, and a knowledge better than that somewhat uncomplimentary expression implies. But it would be a mistake to regard him as an expert in the case of (let us say) Pope Honorius; he would himself have disclaimed any such position, and he had rather a contempt for knowledge acquired by "mere antiquarian research."

In regard to the Bible, or rather to "Scripture," as he almost invariably styled it, his position was pretty much that of the old evangelical school. Biblical criticism, as it is now understood, had no interest for him. At one time he had made some study of the English Catholic versions, and had hoped to have been given the task of producing a revised one. In that case what he would have done would not have gone beyond a closer approximation to the Authorized Version of 1611. That version never ceased to be "Scripture" to him. After five-and-thirty years within the Roman Church, he still could not avoid quoting it in his sermons instead of the Rheims or Douay. Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that Catholic priests, with the rarest exceptions, never read the Bible beyond what they have to read (the same passages constantly repeated) in the recitation of the office, and that, apart from those portions which are read as the epistle and gospel on Sundays at high mass, they never have occasion to read the English Catholic versions at all, and are as little familiar with them as are the laity, which is saying a good deal. Behind the Vulgate, Newman, as I knew him, never cared to go. Of recent criticism of the Greek Testament he knew nothing; and as to the Old Testament, never having studied Hebrew or its cognate languages, he was not in a position

to do more than follow the received Latin or English texts. So far as I can judge, he had never so much as heard of recent theories, such as that about the post-captivity date of the detailed Mosaic law, etc.; and as he knew no German, and never had occasion to meet the English exponents of the German and Dutch criticism, I believe that this was really the case. One could wish it had been otherwise, and that he had been free to follow or to criticise the critics; for his characteristic penetration would certainly have thrown light on questions that yet remain dark. But that was not his field. He was not insensible to the difficulties which modern ideas, mainly moral, have placed in the way of the old-fashioned belief in plenary inspiration; and his way of meeting them may be seen in his article on the subject in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1884. What it comes to is this, that whereas the Vatican Council has plainly declared that the whole Bible "has God for its author," Newman thought we might fairly interpret this in a sense which would practically read "has God for its editor." Further than this he did not go.

It is natural to compare or contrast Newman with Döllinger. Before 1870 it was generally thought they had much in common; and doubtless they had this much, that they both distrusted the policy of Pius IX. But Döllinger had visited Newman a few years before, and the two men had found it hard to get on with each other. "It was like a dog and a fish trying to make friends," so the latter described it some time later. The ultimate basis of Newman's dogmatic theology was feeling, that of Döllinger's was history. They were together for a time, just as two travellers are, one ascending and the other descending a hill. No doubt Newman deplored Döllinger's excommunication, in the sense that he thought that one who had served the Church so well deserved every sort of considera-

tion, and that no irrevocable step against him should have been taken till every form of private influence had been tried again and again and had failed. But of the justice of his excommunication in that event he entertained no doubt. Newman's position in the infallibility controversy was much misunderstood, and it must be confessed that he did little to clear up the misunderstanding. The doctrine itself he never doubted, and never dreamed of doubting; it was not to him less credible than any other part of the Catholic creed. Indeed, he went beyond what was required of him in the matter, as he himself told me, believing that the pope is infallible in canonization. Why under these circumstances he should have resented, as he certainly did, the definition, almost as if it had been personally directed against himself, is a mystery which he has never explained, though there are passages in his published writings which give some kind of clue to his meaning.

Some six or eight miles from Birmingham, on the road to Bromsgrove, lies Rednal, where there is a small country house of the Oratory, in which Newman used to spend a good deal of his time and write a good deal. It was here, I believe, that the *Apologia* was written. The house is just visible from the railway, nearly hidden in the trees, on the side of the Lickey Hill, soon after the traveller has passed Barnt Green station, on the line from Worcester to Birmingham; but the place must be approached nearer if its full charm is to be realized. A little bit of Scotland seems to have been dropped here into an English midland county. The hills are not lofty, but are picturesquely arranged, partly covered with pines and partly with deciduous trees hiding a rich undergrowth, the more exposed parts being carpeted with heather and bilberry, while the views are extensive in every direction. It is part of the "idea" of the Oratory to have a country place, just as the Roman Oratory has its "villa"; and the Edgbaston community always had such

an establishment in view, though their position in the suburbs rendered it hardly so necessary. If I rightly recollect what I was told, Rednal and its charms were discovered by Father Ambrose St. John (Newman's closest personal friend) one day when he was out riding. He contributed a substantial sum to the purchase of the land and the building of the little house and chapel, but the original fund was the surplus remaining after the expenses of the Achilli trial had been paid—friends having collected some £13,000 for that purpose; and I think that the profits on the sale of the re-issue of the *Plain and Parochial Sermons*, or a sum paid by Messrs. Rivingtons for the privilege of reprinting them, were devoted to increasing and improving the property at a later date. Anyhow this delightful retreat was to Newman as the apple of his eye; sometimes he would spend several days there consecutively, or at any rate he would be there one night every week, and say mass in the little chapel in the morning. He would walk about the garden and the fields, spud in hand, and he was never tired of giving directions for removing this or that tree or shrub, and replacing them by something that he hoped would grow there with better effect. It cannot be said that he was successful as a landscape gardener; such artificial beauty as Rednal has is due rather to Father St. John, after whose death in 1875 Newman often deplored his own inability to manage the place as it had been managed before. But it was always with pride and pleasure that he received visitors there and showed them over the grounds; and almost the only occasion when he displayed the geniality usually supposed to be characteristic of a parish priest, even welcoming poor children, with whom at other times he showed scant sympathy, was when they came out to Rednal, by his permission, for their annual summer excursion. In the little graveyard below the chapel lie buried Father Ambrose St. John and Father

Edward Caswall, whose hymns and translations have been so widely popular; and henceforth the place will be famous as the last resting-place of the Cardinal himself.

He took an immense interest in the Latin plays which for some years were performed by the boys of the Oratory School at the midsummer breaking-up. Their introduction was originally due to Father St. John, who brought the tradition from Westminster; but the idea was taken up with something like enthusiasm by Newman, who edited several plays of Terence and Plautus—transforming the broad *Eunuchus* into what he named the *Pincerna*—and writing prologues and epilogues appropriate to the new circumstances of their performance. On several occasions these performances were admitted by competent judges to be about as good as possible. No trouble or expense was spared to make them perfect in every detail; and inmates of the house, who knew the somewhat shaky condition of its finances, were dismayed at the recklessness which brought wig-makers and costumiers to the Oratory so that the “get up” of each player might be correct. The somewhat stiff traditions of Westminster were certainly improved upon, and the performances were made as intelligible and as enjoyable as possible; but only the actors knew how much Newman himself had contributed to make it a genuine histrionic success. He coached nearly every one privately, and astonished them not a little by the extraordinary versatility and dramatic power with which he would personate for their imitation a love-sick Roman exquisite or a drunken slave. Perhaps there was never any more remarkable testimony to the attractiveness of the drama than Newman’s eagerness about the performance of these classical plays, at a time when, by his position as an ecclesiastic, he was excluded from witnessing any theatrical performance of a public kind. And this eager interest he retained when he was over eighty years of age.

Some reference to the Oratory school is necessary, as through this, more than in any other way, Newman has undoubtedly influenced the English Catholic body. It was begun in 1859, and its genesis may be ascribed to Newman's innate love for young men and their training, which he needed in some way to satisfy after he had withdrawn from his work as rector of the Catholic University of Dublin. It was the jealousy of the Irish bishops which thwarted him there; and jealousy from other quarters beset the establishment of the school at Edgbaston. It was natural that Oscott, which had possessed something like a monopoly for central England, should resent the setting up of a new school for the same class of boys within the distance of an easy walk; and it was natural that the Jesuits should look with suspicion on an establishment which it was understood would be conducted on principles more liberal and less un-English than their own. But in this school Newman achieved his most genuine and lasting success, unless we so describe his being made a prince of the Catholic Church. As a boys' school Oscott has now ceased to exist, and the Jesuit system in England has been modified in a liberal direction; while meanwhile the school at Edgbaston, which was to combine the traditions of an English public school with Catholic safeguards and surroundings, and did so with marked success for many years, has turned out some of the very best among Catholic priests and laymen. It never had anything to boast of as regards buildings, nor distinguished names in its teaching staff; but it will live in the loyal affection of its "old boys," who are rightly jealous of the good work it has done for higher Catholic education in England.

Newman was passionately fond of music of a certain type, and was himself a very fair musician of the old school. That is to say, up to the year 1879 he fre-

quently took the second violin in quartets of Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart, and performed the part with scrupulous accuracy, but without (so far as I can recollect) any *verve* or fire. He was very slow and painstaking in getting his instrument perfectly into tune, and he held it low, against the chest, rather than against the neck, as was, I believe, the old-fashioned method.

His interest in music hardly extended beyond the works of the classical composers above named, and it was only for orchestral music, or for concerted pieces for stringed instruments, that he cared. Chorus-singing of the dignified oratorio style had no attractions for him; and the same was true of organ-playing. For many years he was content to have in the church of the Oratory a most miserable and inadequate instrument; and when one of the community made a present to the church of a really fine one, he almost resented the donation; apparently because its effect was to render less necessary the occasional performance of high mass with an orchestra, in which he really delighted. Operatic music was more to his taste than the solemn and serious oratorio, and Beethoven was his favourite composer. Of course he was precluded by his position from ever hearing an opera dramatically performed; but I take it that his ideal would have been reached had he been present at a performance of *Fidelio*, after having had plenty of time thoroughly to familiarize himself with the music: for he always maintained that good music must be known before it can be appreciated, and that a first hearing gave no one the right to judge—a doctrine that might be laid to heart with advantage by our newspaper musical critics. I was with him when Wagner's *Supper of the Apostles* was performed at the Birmingham Musical Festival, I think in 1876; and it made no impression on him whatever. No doubt it is not a good specimen by which to judge of Wagner's peculiar genius; still it shows traces of

his power ; but to Newman it seemed to convey no ideas but those of eccentricity and noise. Much the same was the case when we were present at the last rehearsal before the production of Gounod's *Redemption* in 1882. The composer himself conducted, and was presented to the Cardinal, and the managers of the festival were extremely anxious that he should pay him some compliment on his work ; but he would say nothing, save that he could not judge by a first hearing, though in this case much of the music is certainly intelligible enough to be at once appreciated. In Gregorian music Newman could see no beauty whatever—none at any rate in the usual antiphons and “ tones.” An exception must be made in favour of those familiar chants occurring in the mass for the *Sursum Corda*, the *Prefaces*, and the *Paternoster*. I recollect his telling me, after we had heard one of Cherubini's masses admirably performed at a Birmingham Festival, that the music, though so beautiful, needed the interspersing of those quaint old chants to make it really devotional—a remark which will be accepted as most true by all who know how those simple melodies haunt the memory, and seem to be an indispensable feature in Catholic public worship. Newman left the Church of England before the revival of musical services, Gregorian or otherwise. Protestant Church music to him therefore was of the cathedral type, or else the old-fashioned psalms and hymns ; and on that account Gregorian music might have been expected to have for him a specially Catholic savour. But it must be borne in mind that his associations of Catholic worship with music were formed chiefly in Rome, where the plain chant was seldom heard forty or fifty years ago. By introducing the institute of the Oratory into England, Newman contributed something towards the establishment of hymn-singing in the vernacular as a part of Catholic worship in this country. He wrote several beautiful hymns, and made a number

of exquisite translations from the mediæval hymns of the Breviary. But these latter he never thought suitable for common use. For popular devotions, such as those of the month of May, or during *triduos* and *novenas*, he preferred hymns of lighter character, more of the carol type, and several of these, which are to be found in his *Verses on Various Occasions*, became very popular at the Oratory and elsewhere. Many of them he set to music himself in a singularly naïve fashion. Discarding utterly, on account of their associations, the older hymn-tunes, he took melodies from the concerted music of Beethoven, Haydn, etc., and somehow or other made the words go with them. He printed, but did not publish, a collection of the hymn-tunes that he had thus called into existence, many of them arranged in sweet simplicity, with treble and bass parts only. One other remark of his *in re musicâ* I recollect, which was to the effect that stringed instruments, with their plaintive expressiveness, give us the music of humanity, while wind instruments suggest the music of the gods, dwelling in the clouds above.

The mention of popular devotions as used at the Oratory recalls a common mistake about Newman, for which he is himself in part responsible, to the effect that he never took part in any of the extravagances of mariolatry, such as shock the Protestant traveller in Italy and elsewhere. So far from this being the case, Newman was responsible for the introduction at the Oratory of the *Raccoltà*, a collection of popular Italian devotions translated into English by Father Ambrose St. John. These devotions have the speciality of being all "indulged," and beyond that they are mostly expressed in singularly strong terms towards our Lady and the saints, terms that are undoubtedly idolatrous, if, under such circumstances, any terms are. There is no obligation for any one to make use of them, either in private or in public. Apparently they

originated in private use, and for that they are perhaps best adapted. But they are utterly un-English in tone, and many excellent English Catholics feel themselves quite unable to use them. There was a priest at the Oratory, the son of a Catholic Lancashire farmer, who could never see his way to join in these devotions. And it would certainly have astonished many of the admirers of Dr. Newman, who believed that his Catholicism was of a "moderate" kind, if they could have seen him (as they might evening after evening in the month of May) forming one of a semi-circle of priests, vested in cottas and bearing lighted tapers, kneeling before the gaudily painted statue of the Virgin, which stands on the left at the upper end of the nave of the church, and leading or joining in these extravagant and tasteless devotions. In a smaller man one would have set it down to a kind of recklessness, which induces converts to rush to such extremes, and to accept everything that is put before them, on the principle, "in for a penny, in for a pound"; but in the case of Newman so simple an explanation seems insufficient. Perhaps it was the outcome of his loyalty to the institute of the Oratory which led him to prefer the Italian to any other form of Catholicism. Certainly it was the case that classical architecture was more to his taste than Gothic, while the Madonna and Child be thought more helpful to devotion than the crucifix. He had no sympathy whatever with that revival of mediævalism which put stained glass windows, memorial brasses with illegible inscriptions, rood-screens, and the like, in the position of badges of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. His idea of the modern Catholic Church was that it should establish in this country the contemporary externals of religion in Rome. Nothing had a better claim to be authorized than this in the absence in this country of any traditional Catholic rite. To attempt to revive the old English Catholicism of the Middle Ages seemed to

him to savour of heresy ; and he chose Roman models in preference to Gothic for the churches that were built, one in Birmingham and the other in Dublin, under his immediate supervision. He took moreover a keen interest in every detail of their furniture and decoration ; and the fact that he approved so much that was merely imitation, and often very poor imitation, leaves his taste in matters of art much open to question. He was very particular about the minutæ of ceremonial, insisting on their due observance, and learning them with scrupulous accuracy himself. I recollect a newly ordained sub-deacon who had just discharged his function as such for the first time at high mass in the presence of the Cardinal, and believed he had made no mistake, being surprised and vexed at being told by him that, when he closed the book at the conclusion of the ceremony, he had left its opening side turned in the wrong direction. And in spite of his being only two years short of fourscore at the time of his being made Cardinal, he took evident delight in learning and performing as accurately as the infirmities of age would allow him the new and somewhat elaborate ceremonial details which his dignity involved. There is a passage in his essay on John Keble (1846) which explains how he felt in regard to these things.

At the time that I knew him he had ceased to possess any striking characteristics as a preacher. In the sense of orator he can hardly be said ever to have been a preacher at all, since he had no power as an *ex tempore* speaker. All his printed sermons were read from manuscript, and when the pen was out of his hand his felicity of diction quite failed him. He told me himself that he never *saw* the congregation he was addressing—a fact which, I suppose, by itself shows that he had no oratorical gift. But when he read with slow and musical enunciation the exquisite sentences he had penned in the privacy of his room, there was something almost magical in the effect. I have in

my mind chiefly the answers that he read in reply to the numerous addresses presented to him on his return from Rome as cardinal. At his reception in the church on his first return he attempted to say a few words *ex tempore*, and he did the same in reply to the first address that he received—it was, I think, from Oscott; but the attempts were failures, and it was painful to listen to him, though he evidently felt deeply what he wished to say. After that he always wrote his replies, and they were in every case admirable and satisfying. His two volumes of Catholic sermons are in various ways better than his Protestant volumes, and these were all written and carefully corrected for publication. But the spoken sermons he used not infrequently to deliver in the church were by comparison deplorable. They were apparently unprepared, and were without plan or point. Occasionally when he uttered some familiar phrase, he would do it with force and feeling; but throughout he was rambling and dreary, and while listening one had to stimulate one's imagination and memory to feel assured that this was the great Dr. Newman, the unrivalled classic preacher of St. Mary's, Oxford. I often used to lament that he did not write out and read something which might have been half the length, and yet a thousand times more effective; and while I think his attempts at spoken sermons were partly due to an idea that preaching ought not to be reading, I am bound to add that I believe indolence and a sort of contempt for the congregation he had to address were partly responsible for them. I can recollect his rushing up to the library a few minutes before he had to be in the pulpit, in fact, while the *Gloria in Excelsis* was being sung, to find something to talk about.

I believe that before 1852, when the Oratory was in Alcester Street, Birmingham, and had attached to it a poor and populous district, Newman was fully as assiduous in parochial work as a Catholic priest can be, and certainly

one cannot but hold his self-devotion in the highest admiration when, at the time of the cholera in the Black Country, he and Father St. John were sent by the bishop, at their own request, to Bilston, to minister to the sick and dying there; but twenty-five years later he not only took no part in parish work himself—that his age of course would explain—but he seemed to regard its being undertaken by any members of his community as at best a necessary evil. To account for this in part—for it is not easy to account for it altogether—it must be remembered that, strictly speaking, the Oratory was not designed to undertake parish work, nor should it have a parish assigned to it. It was intended to supplement the work of the parochial clergy around, its members preaching and hearing confessions almost continually; but they were not expected to visit people at their homes, save in case of sickness, and generally speaking they were to be found at the Oratory, and not elsewhere, and were to regard their own rooms as their nests. In this way the community, at any rate in Rome, obtained to some extent the character of a college of learned divines; and this ideal, rather than the parochial one, was doubtless Newman's. The circumstances of the Catholic Church in England made it however imperative that a definite district should be assigned to the Oratory as its parish; but this arrangement he persisted in regarding as only a temporary one, and on that account he discouraged anything that might tend to bind the Oratory to parochial work.

Similarly he supported very coldly, if he can be said to have supported at all, any schemes that involved the Oratory in responsibilities in the elementary education of the poor. My impression is, that he thought that Catholics throughout the country were wrong in laying on themselves heavy pecuniary burdens in this matter, though of course he could not actively oppose the course that the bishops had decided to adopt. But with his usual penetra-

tion he foresaw that the compromise of 1870 was not an arrangement that could be counted on as permanent; and I gathered from remarks that he made occasionally, for he never expressed any definite opinion, that in his judgment it would have been better to leave the secular education of the children, Catholic and Protestant alike, in the hands of the secular authorities, only insisting that priests should have access to the public schools at certain hours to give religious instruction to the Catholic children in a separate room. It may be found hereafter that these terms are the best the Church will be able to secure, and Newman will then have the credit of having foreseen the ultimate solution; but the whole tendency of Catholic teaching everywhere has been to the effect that the education of Catholics should be wholly in the hands of Catholics; and this principle, so far as it concerns any class but the lowest, Newman would have himself admitted; and he practically enforced it as regards the upper class in founding the Oratory School. I could not escape the impression that Newman, as I knew him, had not that care for the poor which is commonly a characteristic of the Catholic clergy. He had a few retainers among them, to whom he gave alms somewhat freely; but he can hardly claim the beatitude adjudged to the man who "considereth the poor and needy"—in the Catholic version *qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem*. I never knew him make any thoughtful suggestion in regard to their physical, moral, or religious welfare.

ARTHUR W. HUTTON.

(To be concluded.)

NOTES ON GENESIS.

THESE notes on the book of Genesis will be in the strictest sense of the term exegetical. It is impossible, in commenting on such a book, to avoid all discussion of the many questions which have been raised in connexion with it, more particularly in the earlier chapters, such as the relation of the story of creation given here to the cosmogonies of other nations, the order of creation, the origin and antiquity of man, the universality of the flood, the distribution of man over the face of the earth; but I shall touch upon these only so far as is absolutely necessary for the elucidation of the text. In particular I shall abstain from attempting to construct any scheme of "reconciliation" between the statements of the first chapter of Genesis and the well-ascertained results of scientific investigation. Scientific men only have any right to speak on subjects lying within their own domain; and I leave it to them to say how far the statements of Genesis, taken in their plain, literal sense, are, or are not, in accordance with what may be fairly considered as the results, so far as they are certain, of modern scientific research. For myself, I may frankly say that I accept the record in Genesis as a Divine revelation; but I believe that revelation is always adapted to the capacities and modes of thought of the recipient. How should it be conveyed otherwise? How otherwise would it be intelligible to those to whom it was addressed? A revelation given more than 3,000 years ago which should have comprised the science of the nineteenth century would have been utterly confusing and perplexing. Moreover, the pur-

pose of any true revelation must be moral and spiritual, and the Bible nowhere professes to have any other. Why should we assert for it what it nowhere asserts for itself? I know it will be said: "But if the Bible professes to give an account of creation; if it tells me, for instance, that plants producing seed, that the cereals and leguminous plants and fruit trees were in existence before the creation of the sun; if it enters into details as to the order in which plants, fishes, reptiles, birds, mammals appeared—then the Bible does so far lay itself open to a comparison with the discoveries of science; it challenges such a comparison." I fully admit it. And if it is certain that the two records, the record of nature as now interpreted and the record of revelation as it stands, cannot be reconciled, let us honestly say so. But what is there in this to disturb our faith? Why should we argue as if we knew in what precise way God ought to convey to us a revelation? 'Suppose that it is His will and pleasure to give it us in a form which to our conceptions savours of imperfection, is not that precisely what He has done in His other revelation of Himself in nature? Why not be content to wait? Perhaps all is not told us. There is a reticence in Holy Scripture which is the sure mark of its Divine original. Nothing is really great, really sublime, which is not touched by the shadow of mystery. There must be room for faith. I say this deliberately. If a man cannot feel the simple majesty, the unapproachable grandeur, of this first chapter of Genesis; if he cannot discern God there of a truth, and take his shoes from off his feet, because the place on which he stands is holy ground,—no amount of theories of reconciliation will ever convince him of its divinity. On the other hand, a broad, general correspondence between the record in Genesis and the results of scientific investigation there assuredly is. Nothing can be more striking on this head than the admission of a writer like Haeckel. To him the first

chapter of Genesis is not a revelation, but a Hebrew tradition; and yet what is his testimony as to its scientific worth? After remarking on "the simple and natural chain of ideas which runs through it, and which contrasts favourably with the confused mythology of creation current amongst most of the other ancient nations," he says:

"Two great and fundamental ideas common to the theory of non-miraculous development meet us in the Mosaic hypothesis of creation with surprising clearness and simplicity: the idea of separation or differentiation, and the idea of development or perfecting. Although Moses looks on the results of the great laws of organic development . . . as the immediate acts of a constructing Creator, yet in his theory there lies hidden the ruling idea of a progressive development, and of differentiation of the originally simple matter. We can therefore bestow our just and sincere admiration on the Jewish lawgiver's grand insight into nature, and his simple and natural hypothesis of creation, without discovering in it a so called Divine revelation."¹

Haeckel denies a creation altogether, for he sees very clearly that this is to admit a miracle; he is a believer in spontaneous generation; he cannot, of course, accept the Mosaic story as a revelation; and yet he goes on to say that from Moses, who died about 1480 B.C., down to Linnæus, who was born 1707 A.D., there has been no history of creation to be compared to it. This admission on the part of an eminent scientific man who is not a believer ought surely to satisfy us. If it were my purpose to criticise Haeckel, I might point out that his own theory is absolutely devoid of proof; that he is obliged to admit that he knows nothing whatever of first causes, of which, indeed, no man can know anything who does not believe in God; and that he speaks again and again of "wonder" and "mystery," though he will not allow the possibility of "miracle." Happily there need be no opposition between faith and science.

As regards certain recent theories of the composition and structure of the Hexateuch, of which the book of Genesis

¹ *History of Creation*, translated by E. Ray Lankester, vol. i., pp. 37, 38.

forms the first division, my position is briefly this. I believe it to be established that there are three, or rather four, strata of documents running through the work: (A) the Elohist; (B) the Jehovist, into whose narrative there is incorporated that of a second Elohist; (C) the Deuteronomist. One or more editors have put these different documents together, and so brought the whole into its present shape. Without pledging myself to agreement with all the conclusions of the critics, I believe them, broadly speaking, to be so far established. But I believe also that the Pentateuch, especially in its legislative portions, is in substance at least, though not in its present form, Mosaic. Holding this, I have no difficulty in holding that earlier or contemporary or later documents may have been incorporated in the Mosaic work. Such early writings are again and again quoted and referred to in the Pentateuch. At the beginning of Genesis the evidence of different documents is indisputable. The first chapter, together with the first three verses of the second, which ought never to have been separated from it, is, on the face of it, a distinct document. It is complete in itself; it is Elohistic—that is to say, it is marked by the use of the name Elohim for God, and also by certain phrases which are characteristic of the Elohist, such as “After its (their) kind,” “male and female,” “Be fruitful and multiply,” etc.; and it is in style and character quite different from the section which follows, chap. ii. 4 to iii. 24, in which we have the remarkable and frequent combination of the Divine names Jehovah, Elohim, which elsewhere is rare in Holy Writ, and on which I shall have more to say in the notes on the second chapter.

The structure of this first document deserves our closest attention. Creation is not one act, but several. The creative acts are presented to us in a series of tableaux. They occupy six days, which are followed by a seventh

day of rest, the frame or setting thus adopted by the writer being obviously that of the week of seven days. But this is not all. The six days of creation fall into two sections of three days each, and there is a striking correspondence between the two. The first three days are days of preparation, the next three are days of accomplishment. If on the first day light is created, on the fourth we have the creation of the sun, moon, and stars, as the bodies which are henceforth to be receptacles of light, the source of light to the earth. If on the second day God made the firmament, and "divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament," on the fifth He created the fish, which were to multiply in the waters, and the fowl, which were to fly in the open firmament of heaven. If on the third day there are two creative acts, the separation first of all between earth and water, between sea and land, and then the clothing of the earth with vegetation, with the grass and the herb yielding seed and the fruit tree yielding fruit, on the sixth day, in like manner, there are two creative acts: the creation, first, of the wild beasts, the cattle, and all the smaller animals comprised in the general term "creeping things," and then of man, the lord and master of all. But the correspondence between the third and sixth days is to be found not in this circumstance, which is purely external, that each is marked by two creative acts, but in the provision made on the third day of food for the wants of the creatures who come into existence on the sixth. The herb yielding seed and the fruit tree yielding fruit, which are brought forth on the third day, are on the sixth given to man; and every green thing in like manner is given to beast and bird and creeping thing for food.

Strictly speaking however, there is one point in which the correspondence does not hold; for the birds are created on the fifth day, and their food on the third (vers. 11, 12),

although it is not till the sixth day that their food is assigned them, together with the land animals and man.

It will be observed in this enumeration that, while the creative days are six, the creative acts are eight. This has been held to be evidence that the original form of the narrative was different; it at least plainly indicates that the framework of the week has been deliberately adopted by the author in order "to bring under the eyes of his readers all the parts of this immense work, and especially to give prominence to that great and fruitful idea of the gradation which manifests itself therein, as regards the importance, and even the relative perfection, of the different groups of creatures" (Reuss).

The eight great creative words are these :

I. God said, "Let there be light" (ver. 3)—on the first day.

II. God said, "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters" (ver. 6)—on the second day.

III., IV. God said, "Let the waters under heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear" (ver. 9). God said, "Let the earth bring forth grass," etc. (ver. 11)—on the third day.

V. God said, "Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night" (ver. 14)—on the fourth day.

VI. God said, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly, etc.; and, "Let fowl fly above the earth," etc. (ver. 20)—on the fifth day.

VII., VIII. God said, "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after its kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after its kind" (ver. 24). God said, "Let Us make man in Our own image, after Our likeness: and let them have dominion," etc. (ver. 26)—on the sixth day.

There are two more words of God in this chapter; they are, however, not creative words, but providential; the first

(ver. 28) assigning to man his office and place here upon the earth, and the second (ver. 29) assigning to him the means of sustenance. Four words of God are uttered on the sixth day, as if to mark its supreme importance. Altogether there are ten words of God in the creation, as there are ten words given on Sinai. The phrase, "And it was so," occurs six times, in vers. 7, 9, 11, 15, 24, 30; or seven times, if we take the words, "And there was light," as equivalent. The LXX. have inserted the phrase in ver. 6 and omitted it in ver. 7, and in order apparently to round off the number seven, have added it at the end of ver. 20.

It may be remarked however, that this phrase, recurrent as it is, does not recur in any very regular order. It is not found at all in the first day; it occurs once in the second, and once in the fourth day; and twice in the third and sixth days, on each of which days, as has been noticed above, two works of creation are recorded.

In vers. 4, 7, 9, 30, the phrase sets the seal to the accomplishment of the Divine work. In vers. 11, 15, 24, it does this, but only by way of a summary statement, which is followed by a more detailed account of the manner of the accomplishment.

Again, the Divine approval rests upon the work at the several stages thereof. Thus we are told of the creation of the light (ver. 4) on the first day, of the separation of the earth and the seas (ver. 10), and of the creation of the grass, the herb, and the tree (ver. 12) on the third day, of the setting of the sun and moon and stars in heaven on the fourth day (ver. 18), of the creation of the fishes and birds (ver. 21) on the fifth day, of the creation of the fauna of the earth (ver. 25) on the sixth day, that "God saw that it was good"; and on the conclusion of the whole work (ver. 31), also on the sixth day, that "God saw *everything* that He had made, and, behold, it was *very* good."¹

¹ The LXX. add this note of Divine approval also in ver. 8, "God called

Seven times does this grand refrain fall upon the ear, like some strain of heavenly music expressive of the love of the Creator for His creatures, a note of joy and satisfaction in the work of His fingers, such as a later psalmist felt and sought to express when, looking upon the glorious majesty of God in creation he exclaims, "Let Jehovah rejoice in His works."

There is moreover a blessing of God thrice uttered: first, on the fish and the fowl (ver. 22), then on man (ver. 28), lastly, on the seventh day (chap. ii. 3).

So much for the general structure of the great story of creation, as given us in chap. i. and the first three verses of chap. ii. Let us come now to details.

THE ELOHISTIC STORY OF CREATION.

(CHAP. I. 1 TO II. 3.)

In the beginning.—I.e. of the existing universe as conditioned by *time*. The LXX., ἐν ἀρχῇ. The expression is used in precisely the same sense in the prologue of St. John's Gospel i. 1. Ἐν ἀρχῇ does not mean there, as has sometimes been contended, "from all eternity." There is no "beginning" in eternity. The difference between the opening of Genesis and the opening of St. John is in the use of the verbs. "In the beginning"—i.e. of the things which we see and among which our human history unfolds itself—God *created* the universe. In the same beginning the Word *was*, as existing from all eternity. In Hebrews i. 10, "Thou, Lord, in the beginning didst lay the foundation of the earth," the Greek is κατ' ἀρχάς, which is the rendering of the Hebrew לפני in Psalm cii. 25 [26], where our Version has "of old." This is very nearly equivalent to the rendering of Onkelos here, בקדמין, "of

the firmament heaven, and God saw that it was good," apparently in order that each of the days might be marked by the same benediction.

ancient times." When the beginning was we are not told : it may have been thousands or millions of years ago ; but there was a beginning. Matter is not eternal.

God. Heb. *Elohim*.—The root is one denoting power. The plural form is not merely a plural of majesty, but indicates the manifold powers and attributes residing in the one Being who is the object of awe and worship. When the name is given to false gods, the verb is in the plural ; when, as here, to the one true God, the verb is, with rare exceptions, in the singular. The unity of the Persons is thus recognised, together with the diversity of the attributes. So in Ecclesiastes xii. 1, "creator," according to the common text, is plural. (Cf. also Adonim, Baalim.)

Created.—It cannot be proved that the word means etymologically to create out of nothing. It is common to all the Semitic languages, and may be connected either with a root meaning "to cut" and "fashion by cutting," the material so cut or fashioned being already in existence ; or perhaps with one signifying "to set free," "to let go forth," "to cause to appear." It is in favour of this latter derivation that the word is never followed, like other words denoting "to form," "to fashion," and the like, by the accusative of the material out of which the thing is fashioned. (See the striking use of the word in Num. xvi. 30, "If Jehovah should create a creation.") But the word, whatever be its derivation, is never used except of a Divine act ; and it is quite certain that the writer intends to convey the impression of a creation called into existence out of nothing by the voice and will of God. "In the *beginning* God *created*." Before "the beginning" no material thing existed. God called all that is into existence. This is the sense in which the words were understood by the earliest commentators, the Hebrew poets. So in Psalm xxxiii. 9, "For He spake, and it was" (came into being), and Psalm cxlviii. 5, "He commanded, and they were created." So too in the Epistle

to the Hebrews xi. 3: "By faith we understand that the worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear." The creation, then, was no operation wrought upon pre-existent matter, neither is it an emanation from a Divine substance. The Hebrew cosmogony has no tinge in it either of dualism or of pantheism. God is the eternal, self-subsistent Being; "He is before all things, and by Him all things subsist." Moreover, on its first page the Hebrew Scripture asserts clearly the unity of the Godhead. There are no rival deities here, each exercising an independent power, and claiming several worship: God is one.

The heaven and the earth.—I.e. not the chaotic mass, the rough material, so to speak, but, as in ii. 1, the whole kosmos, the universe as it appears in its present order. This is the common mode of expression in Hebrew for what we call the universe. The nearest approach to this idea of "universe" is found in Jeremiah x. 16, where the E.V. has "all things," the Hebrew being literally "the whole." The first verse being complete in itself,¹ we have here the broad, general statement of creation; then follows the early dark, empty, lifeless condition, not of the whole, but of the earth; and then the gradual preparation of the earth to be the abode of man. The history of the visible heavens and earth is bound together throughout Holy Scripture till the final consummation, when "the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll: the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up," to make way for "the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

And the earth was.—It is the history of "the earth," as

¹ Other renderings which carry on the construction into the next verse, such as, "In the beginning, when God created the heaven and the earth, then the earth was," etc. or, "In the beginning, when . . . and the earth was, . . . God said, Let there be light," are grammatically unnecessary, and quite out of harmony with the simple style of the document.

the scene and theatre of man's activity and man's redemption, that occupies henceforth the writer's thoughts. The earth is to him, if not the centre of the universe, at least the most important part of it. Hence the order of the words in the Hebrew: the copula with the noun standing first before the verb in the preterite, the subject thus having a special prominence given to it. This order is commonly adopted when a new fact or new circumstances are introduced (see iii. 1). The verb "was" is not merely the copula, which in Hebrew need not be expressed, it is almost = "became," ἐγένετο rather than ἦν, though the LXX. employ the latter word as the equivalent here. But this does not justify the rendering, "Now the earth had become," etc., as if the writer intended to speak first of an orderly creation in ver. 1, and then to imply that this orderly creation had fallen into a state of disorder and chaos, the result of the rebellion of Satan and his angels. This is the interpretation commonly resorted to by those who interpolate æons of geological convulsion and catastrophe between vers. 1 and 2, and suppose that what follows describes the final preparation of the earth for man in six literal days of twenty-four hours each. (See Pusey, *Daniel*, pref., pp. xviii-xx.) But all that the writer means is, "Now the earth was (proved to be) in this condition of chaos when God spake what follows, introducing into it harmony and order."¹

Without form and void.—Rather, as R.V., WASTE AND VOID; Heb. *Tohu wa-Bohu*, with a designed assonance to express the confusion of chaos, which the writer of the book of Wisdom calls ὕλη ἄμορφος (xi. 18). (Similar instances of assonance in the case of other words will be found in Gen. xviii. 27, xxi. 23; Nah. ii. 11; Zeph. i. 15; Jer. xix. 9; Ezra vi. 14, and often elsewhere.) Both words are by their formation evidently ancient (Ewald, *Gram.* 146b). The

¹ I have discussed the grammatical construction in an article on Pusey's *Daniel*, in the first number of the *Contemporary Review*, vol. i., pp. 117-119.

exact collocation occurs again only in Jeremiah iv. 23, with obvious allusion to this passage: "I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was waste and void"—a return, as it were, to the primeval chaos, as indeed the whole prophetic picture that follows implies. The two words are used together in the same passage also in Isaiah xxxiv. 11, where the R.V. has "the line of *confusion*" (perhaps "desolation" would have been better, as approaching more nearly to "waste" here), "and the plummet of *emptiness*." Except in these two passages, *Bohu* occurs nowhere else; it is doubtless connected with the name *Báav*, which is found in the Phœnician story of creation. *Tohu* occurs frequently. In Job xxvi. 7 it is rendered "empty space": "He stretcheth out the north over empty space"—to which in the next clause "nothing" is the parallel: "and hangeth the earth upon nothing." It occurs frequently in the later chapters of Isaiah. In one passage, xlv. 18, there seems to be almost a contradiction to the statement made here: "For thus saith the Lord that created the heavens; He is God; that formed the earth and made it; He established it, He created it not a waste, He formed it to be inhabited." This is the rendering of the R.V.; but it labours under the manifest disadvantage that in the very next verse, the same word *Tohu* is rendered "in vain." The A.V. is more consistent in having the same rendering, "in vain," in both verses. If we follow the R.V. in the first clause, we may explain, "He created it not to be a waste"—*i.e.*, as Dr. Cheyne says, "not to continue a chaos"; though he seems to me to push literalism too far when he renders in the next verse, "I have not said unto the seed of Jacob, Seek ye Me as chaos."

The deep (Heb. *T'hôm.*; Assy. *Tihamtû*).—Also a very ancient word, from a root signifying *to surge, to roar*, and always found without the article except in two later passages, Isaiah lxiii. 13, Psalm cvi. 9, where it occurs in the

plural. It is the great primeval surging mass of waters enveloping the globe. This is not the same thing as the chaos; the writer did not regard this watery mass as constituting the original material of the world, but rather as enveloping the whole crust of the earth, as the later poets understood it: "Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garment; the waters stood above the mountains" (Ps. civ. 6; cf. Job xxxviii. 8-11, 2 Pet. ii. 5). So Milton:

"The earth was formed, but, in the womb as yet
Of waters, embryo immature, involved,
Appeared not; over all the face of earth
Main ocean flowed."

This great, circumambient sea was shrouded in darkness; but it was not left in hopeless gloom and death, *the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters*. The Targum of Onkelos renders: "And a wind from before the Lord blew upon the face of the waters," which has been followed by Eph., Saad., Ibn Ezra, and others (and recently by Dr. Cheyne, "a wind of Elohim"), the wind being sent to dry up the waters from the face of the earth. But, besides the poverty of conception involved in this rendering, and the impossibility of saying that a wind hovered over or brooded upon the face of the waters, it is contrary to the statement in ver. 7, according to which the separation of the waters is a distinct creative act. The Spirit of God moreover is elsewhere in the O.T. the source and giver of life (τὸ ζωοποιόν, as in the Nicene Creed). Cf. Psalm civ. 30: "Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created." See also Psalm xxxiii. 6, and compare with these Job xxxiii. 4: "The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life," and xxvii. Without attributing to the writer of the O.T. a knowledge of the mystery of the eternal Trinity, which would be to run counter to the whole history of revelation, as a gradual unfolding of Divine truth, nevertheless we must acknow-

ledge that the references to the action of the Spirit of God as the source of life, courage, illumination, wisdom, physical and intellectual gifts, spiritual power, holiness, are neither few nor unimportant. See for instance chap. vi. 3, an Eucharistic passage like this, in which it would be impossible to render otherwise than "My Spirit"; and compare Exodus xxxv. 31-35; Numbers xi. 17-20, xxiv. 2; Deuteronomy xxxiv. 9; Judges iii. 10, vi. 34, xi. 29, xiii. 25, xiv. 6, xv. 14; 1 Samuel x. 10, xi. 6, xvi. 13; 2 Samuel xxiii. 2; Psalm li. 11, 12, 13, cxlxi. 10; Proverbs i. 26; Isaiah xi. 2, xlii. 1, xlv. 3, xlviii. 16, lxi. 1, lxiii. 10, 11, 14; Nehemiah ix. 20; Ezekiel xi. 24, xxxvi. 27, xxxvii. 14, xxxix. 20; Joel ii. 28, 29. No doubt the personal reference in all these instances is not equally definite, though in some it is plain enough. But in none of them could "wind" be substituted for "spirit," and the passages already quoted from Job and Psalm civ. show clearly the sense in which the Hebrew poets understood our verse.

Moral.—Rather, was hovering or "brooding." The participle denotes the continuance of the action. So the Greek translators have rightly represented it, so far as the tense is concerned, either by the imperfect *ἐνσέπτετο* or by a participle *ἐνσέπτατος*. But the Hebrew word does not mean "to move," but rather "to hover over," as a bird over its nestlings, with tender, fostering care. (Cf. Deut. xxxii. 11, "as an eagle . . . fluttereth over her young.") The R.V. has "brooding" here. Cf. Milton's

"Dove-like soft brooding on the virgin's lap."

but in the passage in Deuteronomy leaves "fluttereth," although it is the same word. There may be a distant allusion, as Dillmann says, to the Babylonian myth of the "world-egg," out of which the universe was hatched; but instead of the coarse, material conception contained in that myth, we have here the tender and beautiful and suggestive

figure of the Spirit of God hovering over the abyss of waters with quickening, fostering energy, as a bird over its nest. The Palestine and Jerusalem Targums have: "And the Spirit of mercies [or tender love, רַחֲמִין] from before the Lord breathed upon the face of the waters." (So Etheridge and Delitzsch.) But in chap. viii., where the same expression occurs in both Targums in reference to the deluge, Etheridge renders: "And the Lord caused the *wind* of mercies to pass over the earth, and the waters were dried."

It is not a little remarkable that Augustine, though he sees here, as might be expected, the action of the Spirit of God, nevertheless suggests that this may perhaps be understood in a lower sense. "Potest autem et aliter intelligi, ut spiritum Dei, vitalem creaturam, qua universus iste visibilis mundus atque omnia corporea continentur et moventur, intelligamus; cui Deus omnipotens tribuit vim quandam sibi serviendi ad operandum in iis quo gignuntur. Qui spiritus cum sit omni corpore æthereo melior, quia omnem visibilem creaturam omnis invisibilis creatura antecedit, non absurde spiritus Dei dicitur."

The inspired writer does not trouble himself with the question *how* this primeval state of confusion and darkness came to exist; he merely acknowledges the fact as the substratum, so to speak, of the creative process. This is evidence, as Dillmann truly remarks, of the antiquity of the record; this links it with the most ancient traditions of other nations; whereas the later references in the Bible to the story of creation drop all allusion to a chaos. But here, as everywhere else, the superiority of the biblical cosmogony appears. This lies however, not in the assertion of a supernatural principle as necessary to the formation of the world; for that is to be found in the heathen cosmogonies, whether as a universal spirit as in India, or as *Ἔπος* among the Greeks (cf. Hes., *Theog.* 120; Parmenides in Plato's *Symp.*, p. 178; Arist., *Metaphys.* i. 4;

Lucian, *Amor.* 32), or as *πόθος* and *πνεῦμα* among the Phœnicians, but in the assertion that this spirit is the spirit of *God*, not confused or mingled with, but before and above and altogether distinct from the matter on which He operates with sovereign freedom.

J. J. STEWART PEROWNE.

(*To be continued.*)

THE GOSPEL OF PAUL AT THESSALONICA.

In this paper we shall endeavour briefly to answer the question, *What was the gospel brought to Thessalonica?* Can we give to ourselves any precise account of the "good news" which "Paul and Silas and Timotheus" announced in this city, and which produced so powerful and enduring an effect? Further, was there anything special to the place and the occasion in the form which the Apostle's message assumed, and which will serve to explain the peculiar tone of Christian feeling, the style of thought and cast of doctrine, that distinguished the faith of this great Macedonian Church in its first beginnings? To these inquiries the indications of the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, compared with the story of the Acts, enable us to give a tolerable answer.

1. The foundation of St Paul's teaching was laid in *the proof of the Messiahship of Jesus*, drawn from the prophecies of Scripture, compared with the facts of the life, death, and resurrection of the Saviour. The method of this proof, briefly indicated in Acts xvii. 3, is set forth at length in the report of his discourse at the Pisidian Antioch, given by St Luke in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts.

2. *The purpose of Christ's death and its bearing on human salvation* must have been amply explained by the Apostles. So we infer, not only from the central position

of this subject in the Apostle's later Epistles, and from the prominence given to it in Acts xiii. 38, 39 (where the announcement of *forgiveness of sins* and *justification by faith* forms the climax of St Paul's whole sermon), but the words of 1 Thessalonians v. 8-10 leave us in no doubt that the same "word of the cross" was proclaimed at Thessalonica which St Paul preached everywhere. Here "salvation" comes "through our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us"—a salvation from "the anger of God," a salvation in part received already, in part matter of "hope," and which belongs to those who "have put on the breast-plate of *faith* and love." This salvation was the great need of the Gentile world, which "knew not God," and was enslaved to idolatry and shameful lusts (1 Thess. i. 9, iv. 5; 2 Thess. i. 8).

Now we can understand all this in the light of Romans i. 16-25, iii. 23-26, v. 1-11, and as touching Him "whom God set forth in His blood a propitiation through faith"; but without such knowledge the Apostle's language would have been equally unintelligible to the Thessalonians and to ourselves. Still it must be admitted, and it is remarkable, that very little is said in these two letters on the subject of the atonement and salvation by faith. Evidently on these fundamental doctrines there was no dispute at Thessalonica. They were so fully accepted and understood in this Church, that it was unnecessary to dilate upon them; and the Apostle has other matters just now to deal with.

3. The Church at Thessalonica being chiefly of heathen origin, St Paul and St Silas had said much of *the falsity and wickedness of idolatry*; they had completed the lessons which many of their disciples had already received in the synagogue. Their faith was emphatically a "*faith toward God*—the living and true God," to whom they had "turned from their idols" (this seems to imply that many Thessalonian Christians had been converted directly from

paganism), and whom they knew in "His Son" (1 Thess. i. 9, 10). And this living and true God, the Father of the Lord Jesus, they had come to know and to approach as "our Father" (1 Thess. i. 3, iii. 11, 13; 2 Thess. ii. 16), who was to them "the God of peace" (1 Thess. i. 1, v. 23; 2 Thess. i. 2), who had "loved them and given them eternal comfort and good hope in grace," had "chosen" them and "called them to enter His kingdom and glory," who "would count them worthy of their calling and accomplish in them all the desire of goodness and the work of faith," who had "given them His Holy Spirit," whose "will" was their "sanctification," whose "word" was ever "working in" them, who would "comfort and strengthen their hearts" in every needful way and reward them with "rest" from their afflictions in due time, whose care for His beloved was not limited by death, for He was pledged at Christ's coming to restore those whom death had snatched away (1 Thess. i. 4, ii. 12, 13, iv. 3, 7, 8, 14, v. 18; 2 Thess. i. 5, 7, 11, ii. 13, 16, 17). Such a God it must be their one aim to love and to please; St Paul's one desire for them is, that they may "walk worthily" of Him (1 Thess. ii. 12, iv. 1; 2 Thess. iii. 5). The good news the Apostle brought he speaks of repeatedly as "the gospel of God,"—while it is "the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Thess. i. 8), since He is its great subject and centre. Compare Romans i. 1, 3, "the gospel of God concerning His Son."

It is important to note the prominence of *God* in these Epistles, and the manifold ways in which the Divine character and relationship to believing men had been set forth to the Thessalonian Church. For such teaching would be necessary, and helpful in the highest degree, to men who had just emerged from heathen darkness and superstition; and these letters afford the best example left to us of St Paul's *earliest* instructions to Gentile converts. The next report we have of his preaching to the heathen comes

from Athens (Acts xvii. 22-31), where his discourse bore principally on two subjects—the *nature of the true God*, and the *coming of Jesus Christ to judge the world*.

4. So we come to that which was the most conspicuous and impressive topic of the Thessalonian gospel, so far as we can gather it from the echoes audible in the Epistles; viz. *the coming of the Lord Jesus in His heavenly kingdom*. These letters compel us to remember, what we are apt to forget, that the second advent of Christ is an important part of the Christian gospel, the good tidings that God has sent to the world concerning His Son. In 1 Thessalonians i. 9, 10, the religion of Thessalonian believers is summed up in these two things—"serving a God living and true, and waiting for His Son from the heavens." It was in the light of Christ's second coming that they had learned to look for that "kingdom and glory of God" to which they were "called," and "for which" they were now "suffering" (1 Thess. ii. 12; 2 Thess. i. 5, 10-12). "The coming of our Lord Jesus with all His saints" was an object of intense desire and fervent anticipation to the Apostle himself; and he had impressed the same feelings on his disciples at Thessalonica to an uncommon degree. His appeals and warnings throughout these Epistles rest on the "hope in our Lord Jesus Christ" as their strongest support. It was, moreover, upon this subject that the misunderstandings arose which the Apostle is at so much pains to correct—the first appearing in 1 Thessalonians iv. 13, touching the share of departed Christians in the return of the Lord Jesus; and the second in 2 Thessalonians ii. 1, 2, concerning the immediacy of the event itself.

What may have been the train of thought and feeling in the Apostle's mind that led him to dwell upon this theme with such especial emphasis at this particular period, we cannot tell. But there were two conditions belonging to his early ministry in Europe which naturally might suggest this

line of preaching. In the *first* place, the Christian doctrine of final judgment was one well calculated to rouse the Greek people from its levity and moral indifference; and it had impressive analogies in their own primitive religion. It was for this practical purpose that St Paul advanced the doctrine at Athens. "Having overlooked the times of ignorance, God now commands men that all everywhere should repent; *because He has appointed a day* in which He will judge the world in righteousness by the Man whom He ordained." To the busy traders of Corinth and Thessalonica, just as amongst the philosophers and dilettanti of Athens, the Apostle made the same severe and alarming proclamation. The message of judgment was an essential part of St Paul's good tidings. "God shall judge the secrets of men *according to my gospel*, through Jesus Christ" (Rom. ii. 16). But the declaration of Christ's coming in judgment involves the whole doctrine of the second advent. On this matter St Paul intimates that he had abundantly enlarged in the Thessalonian Church (1 Thess. v. 2; 2 Thess. ii. 6).

In the *second* place, it should be observed that the Apostle in entering Europe by the Via Egnatia was brought more directly under the shadow of the Roman empire than at any time before. Philippi, a Roman colony, and a memorial of the victory by which the empire was established; Thessalonica, a great provincial capital of European aspect and character; the splendid military road by which the missionaries travelled, and along which troops of soldiers, officers of State with their brilliant retinues, foreign envoys and tributaries were going and coming—all this gave a powerful impression of the "kingdom and glory" of the great world-ruling city, to which a mind like St Paul's could not but be sensitive. He was himself, it must be remembered, a citizen of Rome, and by no means indifferent to his rights in this capacity; and he held a high estimate

of the prerogatives and functions of the civil power (Rom. xiii. 1-7).

But what he saw of the great kingdom of this world prompted in his mind larger thoughts of that mightier and diviner kingdom whose herald and ambassador he was. He could not fail to discern under the majestic sway of Rome signs of moral degeneracy and seeds of ruin. He remembered well that it was by the sentence of Pontius Pilate (1 Tim. vi. 13) that his Master was crucified; and in his own outrageous treatment by the Roman officials at Philippi and the sufferings of the Christian flock at Thessalonica he may well have seen tokens of the inevitable conflict between the tyranny of secular rule and the authority of Christ. If such thoughts as these coloured the speech of Paul and Silas at Thessalonica, we can understand the charge made against them in this city: "These all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, even Jesus." It was in principle the charge alleged against Jesus Himself before Pilate, compelling the Roman governor to pronounce his fatal sentence. "If thou let this man go, thou art *not Cæsar's friend*: whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh *against Cæsar*." So "the Jews cried out"; and at the bottom, the accusation was true; their sharp-sighted enmity rightly discerned that the rule of Jesus was fatal to Cæsarism. If the Apostle preached, as he could do without any denunciation of the powers that be, a universal, righteous, and equal judgment of mankind approaching, in which Jesus (crucified by the Roman State) would be judge and king; if he taught that "the fashion of this world passeth away" (1 Cor. vii. 31), and that an atheistic, world-wide despotism would one day culminate in some huge disaster, to be itself "consumed by the breath of the Lord and the brightness of His coming" (2 Thess. ii. 3-11), there were grounds plausible enough for accusing him of treasonable doctrine,

even though no express political offence had been committed. That such a judgment was impending was "good news" indeed; but it was of deadly import to the imperial tyranny of Caligulas and Neros, and to the social and political fabric of the pagan world. In this consequence lies the most significant and distinctive, though not perhaps the most obvious, feature of the "gospel" of Thessalonica.

It may be further added, that the hope of Christ's return in glory was the consolation best suited to sustain the Church, as it sustained the Apostle himself, in the great fight of affliction through which they were passing.

5. *The moral issues* of the gospel inculcated by St Paul at Thessalonica, the new duties and affections belonging to the new life of believers in Christ, are touched upon at many different points, but not developed with the fulness and systematic method of subsequent Epistles. Most prominent here are the obligation to *chastity*, as belonging to the sanctity of the body and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (1 Thess. iv. 1-8); and the claims of *brotherly love*, with the good order, the peace, and mutual helpfulness that flow from it (1 Thess. iv. 9, 10, v. 12-15; 2 Thess. iii. 14, 15). What is singular in these Epistles is the repeated and strong injunctions they contain on the subject of *diligence* in labour and attention to the ordinary duties of life (1 Thess. iv. 10-12; 2 Thess. iii. 6-15).

A striking moral feature of the gospel proclaimed at Thessalonica is manifest in the conduct of the missionaries of Christ themselves,—their incessant labour, their unbounded self-denial, the purity and devoutness of their spirit, and their fearless courage (1 Thess. i. 6, 7, ii. 1-12; 2 Thess. iii. 8, 9).

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

WISDOM: WHENCE SHALL SHE BE GOTTEN?

"If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him."—JAS. i. 5.

WHAT is that which is most inseparable from a man, and of the greatest worth to him *while he lives*? Surely it is himself, his personality, his character such as he has made it. What is that, again, which alone a man can take with him *when he dies*, and the quality of which must shape his future destiny? Surely it is himself, his personality, his character such as he has made it. That then which is of supreme importance to us, that which endures through all the changes and decays of nature, that which really determines our fate in life, in death, and after death, is the character which has been framed and developed in us during these fleeting hours of time, and by all the chances and changes of this mutable world. *This* is, and will be, our sole, our real, possession, the single fountain from which our bliss or our misery flows, for ever. So that our highest wisdom, the one true secret of life, is self-training, self-culture, the development of a complete and noble character.

The point is so important, and so much depends upon it, that I must ask you to dwell on it a little, to turn it round and round in your thoughts, in order that you may see it on all sides, in order that you may assure and persuade yourselves of its truth.

Character, I say, the formation of a noble and complete character, is the secret and wisdom of *life*; and you are to consider whether or not that be true. What then are the things in which you take the greatest interest, which most engage your time, your thoughts, your heart, your activities? Business and its gains, shall we say? and home and its pleasures. You go forth to labour in the morning, and in the evening you return to your homes.

You want your business to prosper ; you want your homes to be pleasant. But does not much of your success in business, if not all, depend on your character ; *i.e.* your energy, your knowledge, your tact, your integrity ? And does not nearly all the pleasure you take in your success, whether that success be less or more, depend on your character ? Look around you. You see men whose business grows larger and more profitable year by year. They are rich and increased in goods ; they have all that heart could wish. Are they necessarily happy in their gains ? If they are of a base and selfish, a grasping and an envious spirit, or if they are of a peevish, fretful, and discontented spirit, are they not most miserable, however rapidly their gains accumulate ? On the other hand, do you not know men who, though they are far from wealthy, are nevertheless of so manly, cheerful, and hopeful a temper, that it is a pleasure to meet them ; so bright, that they shed a brightness on the day ; so brave and manful, that they inspire you with new courage and hope ? And of these last, do you not feel that they are equal to any fortune, and would conquer in almost any strife with adversity by force of sheer resolution and an invincible hopefulness of heart ? If the choice were offered you, " Take mere wealth, or take this strong, bold, manly temperament," which would you prefer if you were wise ? Not the wealth, I am sure, but the fine temper, which can either enjoy wealth or dispense with it.

Nor is character of less value in the home, with its charities and pleasures, than in business, and its gains or losses. A sweet and noble character goes far to make a happy home, even in the unhappiest conditions. Most of us, I suppose, have known men, not at all singularly blessed in wife, children, or conditions, who have nevertheless contrived to shed an atmosphere of health and peace and gaiety around them, who have somehow infected even a peevish wife or an ill-conditioned child with their

own good-nature, and have made even a poor home the abode of love and cheerful goodwill. And, on the other hand, have we not all known men with sumptuous abodes, loving wives, obedient, kindly natured children, who came into their homes like an east wind or a nipping frost, and wrought as unkindly and inauspicious a change?

Far more, then, than on outward conditions, the welfare and happiness of life depend on character. He whose character is well balanced and well developed, who is not only manly, but a mature and complete man, is equal to any conditions, and rises superior to them all.

So again, and still more obviously, *in death* character is of supreme importance. We often say, "It is very certain, that as we brought nothing into the world, so also we can carry nothing out." And, in a sense, the saying is pathetically true. We *must* leave all behind. We cannot take our factories, homes, gains, books, or even our dearest friends, with us. A great gulf suddenly yawns between us and all whom we have loved; and we have to go on our way, and leave them weeping on the other side, vainly straining their eyes toward the darkness which hides us from them. In this sense the common saying is obviously and pathetically true. But, in a deeper sense, it is as obviously untrue. *Is* it "very certain that we brought nothing into the world" with us—no hereditary bias, no predispositions, no special aptitudes, no defects of will or taints of blood? Surely not. Nor is it by any means certain that we shall "take nothing out" of the world. We shall take *much*—nothing visible and external indeed, but how much that is inward and spiritual! We shall take the character we have built up, the bias we have developed, the habits we have formed. We shall take the love and the prayers of our friends, if we have been happy enough to win their love. Our works will go with us, and follow after us, the kind deeds we have done, and, alas! the unkind

also. Like the prophet's roll, our whole soul will be written within and without with signs which God will read, and from which He will read off our sentence. All that strange complex of natural temperament, hereditary gifts, and acquired habits which we call *character*, the result of a myriad various influences—all this will go with us, and in us, when we arise to follow the summons of death. And beyond a doubt, then as now, there as here, the ruling bent of our character will determine our fate.

Are you convinced? Do you admit that, in life and in death, character is of vital and supreme importance; that "it matters not how long we live, but *how*"; that what happens to us is a very small thing as compared with how we take it? If you are, you will acknowledge that your main task in the world is the formation of character; that it is your highest wisdom to endeavour after a character which shall be noble and complete, a character which will fit you both to live and to die. All else is of no worth compared with this; all else is of no worth save as it contributes to this.

But, though this be our highest wisdom, is it within our reach? Let us ask St. James. In writing to the Christian Jews who were exiles in foreign lands, he commences his letter by wishing them "joy." But as their outward conditions were most miserable, as men of their blood were hated and plundered and persecuted far more bitterly than they are now, he felt that his wish, his salutation, "Joy to you," would grate on their hearts, unless he could teach them, by a certain divine alchemy, to extract joy from their very miseries. This divine art therefore he at once proceeds to teach them in the verses which immediately precede the verse before us. They were to "count it *all* joy," *pure* joy, *nothing but* joy, when they were exercised with divers trials and tribulations, when their outward conditions grew hard, painful, threatening: for these trials

came to test their faith in God; and this testing was designed by God, whatever man might mean by it, to breed in them steadfastness, courage, a resolute constancy of spirit. If they suffered trial to train and develop this constancy, this patient fidelity; if, *i.e.*, they suffered trial to produce its due and proper effect upon them,—they would become mature and complete men, lacking nothing. In other words, this patient and faithful endurance, which God sent and intended adversity to produce, would gradually work out in them that manly and noble character which, as we have seen, is our highest good, since it fits us both to live and to die; a good therefore which it is our highest wisdom to seek.

This, then, is the point I want you to mark—that our argument is confirmed by St. James. He too holds the right formation of character to be the sum of human wisdom. “Trials,” he says—and by “trials” he means such familiar adversities as pain, loss, the hatred and contempt of the world, and the fear and grief which they breed in us—“if they be bravely met, search out and carry away faults and defects of character as the acid bites out the alloy from the gold. They make, or tend to make, us of so complete and entire a manliness that nothing is lacking to us.” And here he seems to pause and reflect for a moment. “Nothing lacking! Ah! but those to whom I write may lack *wisdom to see* that the endeavour to become complete and mature men in Christ Jesus *is* the truest and highest wisdom, an aim so high and precious that, to reach it, they should count the world, and all that the world has to offer, well lost.” And therefore he adds, “If any of you lack wisdom,”—*i.e.* if any of you lack *this* wisdom, the wisdom which holds the hope of becoming perfect in character above all other aims—“let him ask of God, and it shall be given him.”

So that, according to James, the brother of our Lord,

the supreme good of life, the character which fits us both to live and to die, *is* within our reach. Many of us, no doubt, do lack the wisdom to make the attainment of this perfect manliness our supreme aim; for when St. James says, "*If* any man lack this wisdom," he does not mean to imply a doubt that we lack it. He knows that men do lack it, some being wholly without it, and others having it only in part. His word "*if*" is equivalent to our word "*when-ever*"; and what he means is, that so soon and so often as we become conscious of this lack, we may take it to God, and have it supplied.

As interpreting St. James to your moral and spiritual conditions therefore, I have first to warn you that you do lack the wisdom which lacks nothing; that you do *not* keep the hope of becoming perfect men in Christ Jesus constantly before you; that you are not content to endure any trial, however bitter and deep, in order that you may become perfect; and that still less can you account these keen and piercing tests pure joy and nothing but joy. But, happily, I have also to assure you that the wisdom which seems beyond your reach is nevertheless within your reach; that if you ask it of God, it shall be given you. *He* will teach and help you to put a pure and noble character before the happiest outward conditions. He will help you to welcome the trials by which He is seeking to make you steadfast, to brace you to a mature and complete manliness, to supply what is lacking in you until you lack nothing. He touches you here and touches you there with His tests, commonly searching out your tenderest and weakest points, seeming at times to wrap your whole nature in the fiery acid; but His design, His purpose, is that you may become pure gold throughout; His will is your perfection.

If you cannot *see* that to be His purpose, ask Him to show it to you, and He will show it. If you are saying within yourselves, "I cannot see anything in the trial that

is wearing me out and exhausting my powers which is at all likely to make me any better," obviously you lack wisdom. You can see neither the good end God has in view for you, nor how it is to be accomplished. "If any man lack this wisdom, let him ask of God, and it shall be given him." You may be sure that the good God *has* a good end in all He does, even though you cannot see it. But if you want to see it, if it be necessary to your welfare and peace that you should see it, ask Him to show it to you. St. James did not hesitate to say, "*It shall be given you*"; why should I scruple to repeat it? Nor is it only St. James's voice that we hear in this gracious promise. His words are here, what they often are elsewhere, simply an echo of the words of Him to whom God has given all authority in heaven and on earth. "Ask, and it shall be given you," says James; but in the sermon on the mount a greater than he said, "*Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.*" In short, it is no one less than the Lord from heaven who assures us that, whether we lack wisdom to *make* God's will our will, or wisdom to *see* the wisdom of His will, we have but to ask, and our lack of wisdom shall be supplied.

Let me put a case. Let me suppose that you are growing impatient or despondent under the pressure of some heavy and protracted trial, the kindly purpose of which you do not see. And you ask God to give you wisdom that you may both see and believe in the kind end for which He sent it. Is it likely, is it reasonable, to expect that He will answer your prayer? Surely it is most likely, most reasonable. If you talk with men indeed, your pride and obstinacy may be roused. In reply to all they urge you may say, "Still, I do not see that any good

comes, or can come, from this misery, and nothing shall ever persuade me that good will come of it." But if you speak with God, you cannot for very reverence take the tone which you might take with one no wiser than yourself. If you ask *Him* for wisdom to see His purpose in afflicting you, you will *try* to see it. You will admit that God may be right, and you wrong. You may even come to feel that He *must* be right, though you are too weak and ignorant to see what He is doing with you. And then He who can lay His finger on all the springs of thought and emotion within us may, and will, touch your heart in the right place. Coming to Him in the attitude of humble and sincere prayer, bringing an open mind to the influence of His truth and grace, He will be able to reveal His will and purpose to you, and you will learn that it is in love and compassion, not in anger, that He has afflicted you.

Let me put another case. Let me suppose that you do not yet see character to be far more valuable than happy outward conditions, that you have not learned to make it your supreme aim to become mature and complete men in Christ Jesus; and yet you are not satisfied with the aims you *have* set before you. You find that, even when you reach them, you cannot rest in them. You begin to suspect that you lack wisdom to choose your own way and your own aims, that you have not discovered the supreme good, having which you can be content, whatever else you lack. If that be your position, and you ask wisdom of God, the wisdom to see what your supreme good is, and where it lies, is it reasonable to believe that He will give it you? Again, it *is* reasonable, most reasonable. For, as you pray, you grow sincere. You can see more clearly for what your life has been given you, for what high and noble ends. You endeavour to break through the clouds which hide the chief end of man from

you, and to break away from the cravings and distractions which divert you from pursuing it. In short, you reach the position, and take the attitude, in which you are most likely, as all experience proves, to find wisdom. You so relate yourself to the Father of lights, that He is able to shed light into your soul.

And if He is able, can you doubt that He is willing? What is the sun full of light for, but that it may shine? And for what is God good, but that He may show Himself good, that He may impart His goodness? The sun may shine on cold, hard surfaces that simply throw off its light; but where it *can* penetrate and fructify, it does. And God may show His love and grace to hearts that cannot, or will not, receive them; but where He finds an open and prepared, a seeking and receptive heart, He enters in, and enters to make it wise and good.

If you want testimony to His goodness from one who has experienced it, listen to St. James. As he bids you ask of God the wisdom you lack, he encourages you to ask it by describing God as "the Giver," the universal Giver, as giving "to *all* men." God goes on giving, just as the sun goes on shining on the evil and on the good, on the just and on the unjust. The difference between men is, not that God refuses any of them any one of the gifts necessary to their welfare and salvation, but that some receive and profit by them, while others reject them or abuse them to their own hurt. If then you honestly crave wisdom to make His will your will, to aim at that maturity and perfection of character which He knows to be your supreme good, He will as surely give you that wisdom as the sweet, pure, sun-warmed air will flow into your room when you throw open your window to the day.

You need have no fear that God will palter with you in a double sense, that He will keep His word of promise to the ear, but break it to the hope it has inspired. For

He giveth "with liberality," or "with *simplicity*," with singleness of spirit, and without reserve. *He* is not "of two minds," as men often are. He does not, as men often do, give, and yet in effect not give. Nor does *He* give, and yet by an ungracious manner, or by subsequent ungenerous exactions, spoil and neutralize His gifts, and make you wish you had not accepted them. His gifts are without duplicity, even as they are without repentance. He has no by-ends to serve, no self-regarding motive. *He* does not give that He may get. He gives, simply because He is "the Giver," because He loves giving, because He loves *you* and seeks your welfare.

Nor need you fear to ask of Him either because you have so often asked before, or because you have never asked before. For He "*upbraideth* not." He will not reproach you with His former mercies, or with your former indifference to them. All He asks is that you will ask of Him. It is His good pleasure to give you pleasure, and to do you good. He is of a perfect wisdom, and longs to make you wise. You can do Him no greater kindness than to ask, receive, and use the gifts He has to bestow. If, then, any of you lack wisdom, wisdom to count it all joy that you are being made perfect and complete men by the divers trials which put your character to the test, and put it to the test that they may raise and refine it, ask that wisdom of God, who giveth liberally to all men, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given you.

And, in especial, I would urge any of you who are *now* being tried, and tried, as you sometimes fear, beyond your strength, to ask wisdom of the great Giver of wisdom. From whatever cause your anxieties and griefs may spring, whether they spring from broken health, from the threatening aspect of your business affairs, or from trouble in the home, whether they spring from your own follies and sins or from the sins and follies of your neighbours, God intends them

for your good, for the discipline and growth of character; intends them to spur and brace you to fortitude, courage, patience; and therefore He would have you count them all joy, since they will bring you joy at the last, if you meet them with a constant spirit. But *how* can you meet them in such a spirit unless you believe that He intends them for your good?

Whether your trials will do you good or harm depends on the way in which you adjust yourselves to them, on how you take them; and this, again, depends on the leading aim you set before you. If you only care, or care mainly, to "get on," to amass a fortune or to take your ease, your losses and disappointments, your crosses and cares, will only sadden and distress you. But if your chief aim is to become good men, mature and perfect men, created anew after the pattern and image of Christ Jesus, you will try to get some good, some training in goodness, from your very cares and sorrows. Under their pressure you will endeavour more earnestly than ever to acquire that equal mind which takes Fortune's buffets and rewards with composure, that firm and habitual trust in God and in His gracious intentions toward you which is your only adequate support amid the chances and changes of time. Above all men you admire those who are of a brave and constant spirit, who will not be a pipe in Fortune's fingers, and let her play what stop she please, who will not be daunted by her frowns nor carried away by her smiles. And can you complain that God is seeking to make you the sort of man you most admire, as independent of all outward advantages or disadvantages as our Lord Himself, as resolutely bent on making God's will your will, and rising into the mature and perfect manliness which is His aim for you and should be your chief aim for yourselves? If you care most for character, the trials that brace, refine, and elevate your character should not be unwelcome to you. And if as yet you lack

the wisdom which sees in every trial a discipline of character and perfection, ask this wisdom of God the Giver, and it shall be given you.

And do not be daunted, do not infer that God has forgotten to be gracious, if you do not receive, or think you do not receive, an immediate answer to your prayer. Our prayers themselves are often God's best answers to our prayers, as even men unguided by the Christian faith, but not untaught of God, have discovered. Thus, for instance, an old Persian poet (of the thirteenth century), speaking of an austere Islamite saint, says :

That just person was crying, "O Allah!"
 That his mouth might be sweetened thereby.
 And Satan said to him, "Be quiet, O austere one;
 How long wilt thou babble, O man of many words?
 No answer comes to thee from nigh the throne:
 How long wilt thou cry 'Allah' with harsh face?"
 That person was sad at heart, and hung his head,
 And then beheld the prophet Khizr before him in a vision,
 Who said to him, "Ah! thou hast ceased to call on God;
 Wherefore repentest thou of calling on Him?"
 The man said, "The answer, 'Here am I,' came not;
 Wherefore I fear that I am repulsed from the door."
 Khizr replied to him, "God has given me this command:
 Go to him and say, O much-tried one,
 Did not I engage thee to do Me service?
 Did I not engage thee to call on Me?
 That calling 'Allah' of thine *was* My 'Here am I,'
 And that pain and longing and ardour of thine My messenger;
 Thy struggles and strivings for assistance
 Were my attractings and originated thy prayer.
 Thy fear and thy love are the covert of My mercy;
 Each 'O Lord' of thine contains many a 'Here am I.'"¹

"Be of good courage then, and strengthen thy heart;
 and wait thou on the Lord: *wait*, I say, on the Lord."

S. Cox.

¹ *Manavi* of Jala-'d din, A.D. 1207-1273.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

IV.

(1 Cor. xv. 47-49.)

THE great law of progress, the great and glorious Divine plan, has been laid down and exhibited in the history of the first and last Adam, when compared with one another. "Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is sensuous; than that which is spiritual." It remains only to be shown that our relation to these two Adams is such as to render it both reasonable and necessary that in their history ours should be repeated. To this the apostle proceeds at ver. 47 of the chapter, first introducing the two Adams to us in a slightly different light from that in which he had presented them before, but at the same time in a light still more appropriate to his purpose. Then, having stated afresh, with this modification, the particular principle he has in view, he finally founds upon it a practical application.

I. *The two Adams.*—"The first man is of the earth, earthy: the Second Man is of heaven." It will be observed that the reading here adopted is different from that of the Authorized Version and the Textus Receptus, that text inserting *ὁ Κύριος* before the last words of the verse, *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*. The necessity for the change of reading which consists in the omission of these words is so universally admitted, that nothing further need be said except this, that, demanded by external, the change is hardly less imperatively demanded by internal evidence. The aim of the two clauses is obviously to point out the *sources* out of which springs each of the two original "men" referred to; and that, for the purpose of leading to the inference, that according to the nature of the source will be also the nature of the head, and along with the head of the members

of the body. The insertion of the *Textus Receptus* diverts our attention from this to a Divine personality of the Second Head, and destroys the directness of the contrast.

To what point of time then, we have again to ask, does St. Paul refer in each of the two clauses of this verse? "The first man is of the earth, earthy." The preposition "of" (ἐκ) unquestionably denotes origin, and we are thus taken to the time when Adam was formed out of "the dust of the ground" (Gen. ii. 7); that is, as before, to his original constitution, to a date anterior to the fall. Upon that point we need say no more. It is different with the second clause, "The Second Man is of heaven"; for, although it is allowed that the preposition (ἐκ) again denotes origin, no fewer than four different answers are here given to the question.

First, the reference is supposed to be to our Lord's pre-incarnate state. So Baur, Beyschlag, and Pfeleiderer. "Here however," says the last named scholar, "we cannot avoid thinking of the origin of the person of Christ from a heavenly pre-existence; for, as ἐξ οὐρανοῦ in this verse is given as the *ground* of the Second Adam having become spirit, so it cannot refer to that condition of the exalted One of which the resurrection was the ground, but must refer to a heavenly condition which *preceded* the resurrection, and consequently His whole earthly life, therefore to the condition of the heavenly *pre-existence*. Christ was enabled by His resurrection to become the Second Adam, and the originator of a spiritual humanity, because He had always in Himself been so, because He did not owe His origin to merely natural humanity, but brought from heaven and put into it the quickening spiritual principle which had hitherto been wanting to it; in short, because He was essentially and originally (and not only from the time of His resurrection) a heavenly man."¹ The immediate

¹ *Paulinism*, translated by Peters, vol. i. p. 132.

consequence of this view is to compel us to adopt the idea that "this human Person who had His origin *from* heaven, had also pre-existed in heaven *as man*, that is to say, as *spiritual man*, as the *same subject*, and in the *same form of existence* as that in which He continues to live in heaven as the exalted One."¹ The whole statement is founded upon the false notion that ἐξ οὐρανοῦ necessarily points to the *ground* upon which our Lord was enabled to become "spirit." But the thought of such a *ground* of change is foreign to the text. St. Paul is occupied with the change which took place as a *fact*, not with the ground of it; besides which, when he says, in ver. 45, that "the last Adam became a life-giving spirit," he is certainly thinking of Him, not as spirit only, but as possessed of that spiritual body in which His spirit was housed, and without which He could, no more than any of His descendants, have been a living man, and so an "Adam." If however the spiritual body is thus to be transferred to our Lord's pre-incarnate state, the principle laid down in ver. 46 must be reversed, and the spiritual must precede the sensuous.

Secondly, it has been thought that the reference is to the incarnation, because "Christ's heavenly origin is introduced in order to show the supernatural and Divine character of the renewed humanity which begins in Him."² But the resurrection, the ascension, and the heavenly life which followed them were themselves sufficient to show that our Lord was "of heaven," not of earth. Besides which, it may be asked, When did Christ's gift or power of renewing humanity begin? Was it at the incarnation? or does it not rather appear from the whole course of the argument that the apostle traces it to the time when Christ became "spirit" by His resurrection? No doubt, even during His life on earth, He possessed in Himself a renewed humanity, having a supernatural and Divine character.

¹ *Paulinism*, u.s., p. 139.

² *Edwards in loc.*

But did He then possess that humanity in such a way that He could be spoken of at that early stage as the spiritual Head of the renewed line of human beings to become what they were to be by descent from Him? Had He not then rather "emptied Himself"? (Phil. ii. 7.) Had not He who was rich then for our sakes become poor? (2 Cor. viii. 9.) Was He not then limited and restrained by the arrangements of the Divine economy of salvation? And was it not at His resurrection only that He entered upon that condition of existence in which He could be the head of the great family that was to spring from Him, and to be conformed to what He was? Besides this, it is to be observed that, in ver. 49, we are distinctly told that the image which we are to bear, and to which we are to press forward, is that of "the heavenly"; and the expression, which cannot be separated from the words "of heaven" in ver. 47, leads directly to the thought, not of the incarnate, but of the risen and glorified Lord to whom we are to be made like. It is not therefore with the thought of the incarnate Lord, or, in other words, with the thought of the incarnation, that the apostle is occupied. The view of Principal Edwards appears, like that of Pfeiderer, to rest upon the impression that, in the words *ἐξ ὀψαροῦ*, we have a *ground* existing long previous to the specific point of time in the apostle's mind, by the remembrance of which he would account for the fact that, at a later period, Christ became the first-born of God's spiritual children. Such a supposition is not called for. The course of argument hardly admits it. Man is all along regarded by St. Paul as one who when redeemed is not to be redeemed in spirit only, but to be clothed with a spiritual and heavenly body; and man obtains this because descended from One who, in His character as the Second Man, possesses such a body. It is not necessary therefore to go further back than the moment when our Lord obtained this spiritual body. Nay,

f we do go further back, we must either think of the years during which our Lord possessed a limited body, and this will not suit the argument; or we must go further back still, to Christ's pre-existent state. Edwards, who would object to the former, justly declines to do the latter, urging that it would be "fatal to the cogency of the argument, which depends on Christ's being Head of the race." Let it be observed however that, in whatever sense it may be true that Christ is "the Head of the race," it is not as the Head of "the race" that He is here spoken of. He is only the Head of His own line of spiritual descendants, in contrast with the race. Let it be further observed, that this line has the pledge and promise of a spiritual body only through the spirit-force bestowed upon it when Christ was glorified (John vii. 39), and it will be impossible for us to find the point ἐξ οὐρανοῦ in the incarnation.

Thirdly, it has been supposed that the reference is to Christ's second coming. So Beet;¹ nor would it seem that such an idea is wholly wrong, for there can be little doubt that the second coming of his Lord, thought of by St. Paul as very near, was to him the season at which all that was most glorious for the believer culminated. But it is not in harmony with his teaching to say that Christ becomes the spiritual or heavenly man only at His second coming, or that only then does a spiritual or heavenly seed spring from Him. That seed springs from Him now. Throughout all the ages of the Church's history in the world He sends His Spirit into the hearts of His people, and in the possession of that Spirit they are His. It is true that not until the second coming do they actually receive the spiritual body; but from the instant when they are made one with Christ, they have the Spirit which includes that gift. They have the earnest, though not the completion, of their future state. In the renewed Spirit dwelling

¹ Comp. Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, vol. i., p. 148; Godet *in loc.*

in their present body they have their victory over the flesh begun; and "if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in them, He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also their mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in them" (Rom. viii. 11).

Fourthly, there remains only the resurrection of our Lord for the time of *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*, although with this ought to be taken the thoughts of the ascension and glorification, which can never be separated from it. Then our Lord broke the bonds of earth. Then He assumed the unlimited for the limited, the spiritual for the material, the eternal for the temporal. Then He was fully *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*. Then, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says, "Christ having come a high priest of the good things to come, through the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this creation, nor yet through the blood of goats and calves, but through His own blood, entered in once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption" (Heb. ix. 11, 12). The words "of heaven" therefore point us to the super-earthly, the heavenly source out of which at His resurrection, ascension, and glorification came the super-earthly, the heavenly, life of Christ. It is the life upon which He then entered that is transmitted, both in spirit and in body, to such as are descended from Him.

Another change in St. Paul's mode of expression in this verse deserves notice. The two stages of man's progress are no longer spoken of exactly as in the previous verses. They are no longer the "sensuous" and the "spiritual": they are the "earthly" and the "heavenly." The change is easily accounted for. What perplexed the Corinthian sceptics was the thought that it was impossible for the dead to rise in the body in which they died; and that, even were they to do so, such a body would be altogether unsuitable to the "heavenly" abode of the risen Lord. They

had discussed among themselves, not the "sensuous" and the "spiritual," but the "earthy" and the "heavenly." This leads to the mention of the latter rather than the former pair. The first man, it was at once to be admitted, was not merely "sensuous," he was "earthy." He was made of the dust or soil of earth; for it is said that "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground" (Gen. ii. 7). To earth therefore he would naturally return. But over against this had to be set the fact that the Second Man was "of heaven," the very heaven promised to the saints, out of that heaven, in the particular origin which is thought of here, just as the other was in his origin out "of earth." If therefore the doubters allowed that the first man connected them with earth, they must equally allow that the Second Man, if they sprang from Him, must connect them with heaven. Thus the apostle is led to a fuller statement of this truth.

II. *The principle making it appear both reasonable and necessary that the history of the two Adams should repeat itself in that of believers.*—The principle is stated in the words of ver. 48: "As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly." It rests upon that similarity between a progenitor and his descendants, the thought of which has been all along in the mind of the apostle, and which only needed the fuller statement that it now receives. That there was, that there must be, such a similarity, no one to whom this epistle was written would deny. It had been one of the commonplaces of Jewish, it was one of the commonplaces of Christian, thought. It is a principle, not only of man's religious, but of his ordinary history. It is borne witness to by all experience. Nor does it keep the world stagnant. It throws no obstacle in the way of that progress which we have seen to be one of the great laws of God. It is rather a chief foundation of improvement,

a constant stimulus to us to improve. By strict attention to God's requirements we can make ourselves better, stronger, fairer, happier than we are at any particular moment of our history. Can there be a more animating thought than that, according to the Divine plan, these blessings will not be confined to us, but will also be transmitted to our children? There is of course always the possibility that our children may despise and reject them, for they are moral beings as well as we; but, under the operation of this law, they may enter upon the struggle of life with possibilities of good which might not otherwise have been theirs; and, as man is constituted, few considerations are fitted to exercise over him a more beneficial influence than this, that he benefits others dear to him when he benefits himself.

The law then to which St. Paul alludes and its beneficial influence are equally unquestionable. But the chief point to be attended to at present in connexion with it is, that the apostle must be understood to refer to it in its widest sense. He is thinking of it as applicable, not merely to the body, but to the spirit of man. "The headship of Adam involves identity of nature and of character with those who are his; the headship of Christ involves identity of nature and of character with those who are in union with Him. Because Adam was *ψυχικός* and *χοϊκός*, all men in their natural state are terrestrial; because Christ is *ἐπουράνιος* and *πνευματικός*, all believers are in their supernatural state spiritual and heavenly. The indefinite word *τοιούτος* is 'purposely chosen.'" ¹ To give this full meaning to the apostle's words is necessary in order to do justice to the argument. Yet we are not to suppose that he is dealing with man as fallen under the dominion of sin. We have seen already that this was not the case at ver. 45, and, again, that it was not the case at ver. 47. It is not more

¹ Edwards, *in loc.*

the case now than it was on either of these occasions. The identity or the similarity between the head and the descendants extends no further than the thought of their sensuous condition on the one hand, or their condition as ruled by a spirit life-force on the other; and, though this latter force, being that of the Spirit of Christ, is necessarily holy, the holiness is not prominently in view. St. Paul, in short, has still his eye upon men as descended from "sensuous" not fallen Adam, and upon Christ as "spirit," without dwelling upon the ethical characteristics of that word.

A difficulty may be started here which it may be well to notice for a moment. There is a want of similarity, it may be said, between the two descents upon which St. Paul is reasoning. That from the Second Adam is immediate; that from the first is mediated through many generations. We stand in direct and personal connexion with the Second Man, from whom, as a living Lord, we each moment receive the Spirit. We stand in connexion with the first man as part of a race rather than as individuals. The answer to the difficulty is twofold. (1) The first Adam lives on in all his descendants; and so long therefore as we are in that line of descent we may be said to be immediately connected with him. The lengthened period between him and us disappears from view. As much as Cain and Abel may we say of ourselves, We are the children of Adam. His earthy nature is as truly ours as it was theirs. (2) If it is as part of a race that we are in the first man, as part also of a community or race we are in the Second Man. Through the Church as a Divine institution in the world, through her life and organization, through her sacraments and worship, the blessings of Christ's kingdom flow to the individual member of the kingdom. Christ lives in His Church; and, when we are really in His Church, we are in Him. By His living, personal presence the Church is made at every

moment what she is,—His body. The body is not less real in the one case than in the other; and each believer is not less truly a member of the body, and grows up to what he is by being so, than each man is a member of the race, with all the consequences depending on that fact. No essential difference therefore is produced by this, that the head of the sensuous line of descendants long since returned to the dust, while the Head of the spiritual line of descendants is living now.

III.—The apostle has closed his argument, and it remains for him only to follow it up with a practical exhortation suited to the circumstances. The exhortation is contained in the words of ver. 49: "And as we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of the heavenly." An important word of the verse is no doubt the subject of dispute. Shall we read *φορέσομεν* or *φορέσωμεν*, "we shall bear" or "let us bear"? The former is the reading of the Textus Receptus, and is adopted alike in the Authorized and Revised Versions, although the Revised informs us in the margin that "many ancient authorities read, let us bear." In point of fact the case might have been put more strongly, no ancient MS. except B supporting the indicative form, while versions, Fathers, and even the bulk of modern MSS. follow the preponderating mass of the ancients. To adopt in such circumstances the reading "we shall bear" would be little else than to construct the text of Scripture according to our own fancy, and not according to the evidence. "Let us bear" is accordingly read by all the best modern editors; and, even although the meaning were more obscure than it is, it might be our duty to accept it, trusting, as has happened in so many other instances of a similar kind, that we should yet see more clearly.

In reality however the meaning, so far from being obscure, is in a high degree interesting and forcible. It depends upon the signification to be attached to the word

εἰκών or "image." That word can hardly be applied to the resemblance which the spiritual *bodies* of the redeemed, viewed apart from their spirits, shall hereafter possess to the spiritual *body* of the risen Lord. It appears to express complete resemblance to, and, combined with this, derivation from, that of which it is the image.¹ Thus Christ is the εἰκών of God, in whom the illuminating power of the Divine glory shines so as to illuminate others (2 Cor. iv. 4); at once the representation and the manifestation of Him who is invisible (Col. i. 15; comp. Lightfoot *in loc.*). Thus in this very epistle Christians, beheld in Christ their Head (chap. xi. 3), are also the εἰκών of God (chap. xi. 7), for they have put off the old man and put on the new man, which is being renewed unto a perfect knowledge "after the image of Him that created" them (Col. iii. 10); and they have at the same time been "transformed into the image" of the glorified Lord who is "spirit" (2 Cor. iii. 18). Thus also the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us that the law proved its imperfection by the fact that it was no more than "a shadow" of the good things to come, not the very εἰκών of the things; it could not set forth these future good things in all their reality and fullness. And, once more, it is thus that in the Apocalypse the second beast is spoken of as inducing men to make an εἰκών of the first beast, so that "the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as should not worship the image of the beast should be killed."² This "image of the beast" is obviously his representative, his manifestation among men, the embodiment of his cruel worldly power.

In the light of such usage the meaning of the word εἰκών in the verse before us ought to be sufficiently clear. It cannot be confined to the thought of bodily likeness alone to the glorified body of the risen Lord. Even at an earlier

¹ Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, § 15, p. 58. ² Rev. xiii. 15.

point of the chapter we have found that a limitation of this kind could not be justified, and that *σῶμα* is not to be supplied to the *τὸ πνευματικόν* and the *τὸ ψυχικόν* of ver. 46. Throughout the whole argument, too, the thought of the resemblance of the believer both in spirit and in body to his Lord has been, if not prominently brought forward, yet in St. Paul's mind. The communication of the spirit of Christ, leading to conformity with the body of Christ, has been the implied foundation of all that he has said; and it can therefore occasion no surprise that, before he closes, he should look at the relation between the Head and the members in its widest sense.

The moment this is admitted the force and beauty of the reading *φορέσωμεν*, "let us bear," instead of "we shall bear," rises to view. Read the latter, and we have a comparatively tame repetition of what has been already said. Read the former, and, with minds filled and elevated by the ennobling prospect which has been set before us, we pass into the wide field of our own corresponding obligations. We are reminded that the whole matter is one in which moral action on our own part is implied. Not by mechanical force are we made partakers of the spirit and life of Christ, but by willing appropriation of what He bestows. We must act our part. We must freely receive what Christ freely gives. We must exhibit all diligence in making our calling and election sure. Therefore may St. Paul well say, "Let us bear the image of the heavenly." We have been too much the children of the first Adam alone. We have been bound by earthly ties, carried away by earthly affections, limited by earthly hopes. The sensuous side of our life is always pressed upon by the things of sense, by

"The beauty, and the wonder, and the power,
The shapes of things, their colours, lights, and shades,
Changes, surprises,—and God made it all!"

We need to be reminded that, however important and valuable that side of our life may be, there is another side, deeper, truer, and more enduring in its character, heavenly not earthly, and with results for eternity as well as time. We have had, and still have, the one life; we may have, and ought to have, the other. The heavenly Lord lives to communicate His Spirit to us, and He invites us to be one with Him. "As" therefore "we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of the heavenly." Then we may travel onwards on our journey, and fight our battle, whatever it may be, in the sure hope of a blessed resurrection to a heavenly Lord in a heavenly life.

WM. MILLIGAN.

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING ON THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT OF SIN.

VI. THE BOOK OF REVELATION.

WE shall now complete our review of the teaching of the New Testament about the fate of those who reject the Gospel, by reproducing in outline the teaching of the Epistles of Peter and Jude, and that of the Book of Revelation.

The famous passages (1 Pet. iii. 19, iv. 6) which assert that at His death Christ went in spirit and made proclamation to the spirits in prison, and that to dead men good news was announced, in order that, though condemned in flesh, they may live in spirit, I must pass over. For I am unable to give any satisfactory explanation of them. And it is most unsafe to build up theological doctrine on passages of which the general drift is uncertain. Moreover I cannot detect in these passages any reliable addition to the teaching of the rest of the New Testament. Possibly they shed an

uncertain ray of light on some who have gone down to the grave without hope. But this by no means even suggests a probation beyond the grave. For it is quite possible that the good news announced beyond the grave was a reward for loyalty during life to such truth as those imprisoned ones possessed. Certainly this difficult passage gives no hope for those who have died rejecting the Gospel.

The Second Epistle of Peter and that of Jude are closely allied, and may well be studied together. A conspicuous feature of 2 Peter is the word *ἀπώλεια* or *destruction*, which occurs five times, and the cognate verb twice. The verb occurs twice in the Epistle of Jude. With these writers, as throughout the New Testament, these words are technical terms for the future punishment of sin. Evidently the chief thought of the early followers of Christ about the fate of those who reject the Gospel is that of ruin, the loss of all that gives worth to existence. For this, as we saw in my first paper, is the radical meaning of the word. This meaning is illustrated by 2 Peter iii. 6, which says that at the flood the then world was *destroyed*. This destruction was manifestedly not annihilation, but, apart from the family of Noah, utter ruin. Nor was it final ruin. But it was a ruin from which only the power of the Creator could save the world. This confirms my earlier exposition of the meaning of the word.

This ruin is said to be inflicted at the great day, which is therefore called in 2 Peter iii. 7 a "day of judgment and destruction of the ungodly men." Meanwhile they are undergoing punishment. So chapter ii. 9: "The Lord knoweth how . . . to reserve unrighteous men in punishment for the day of judgment." The state of the lost is further described in chapter ii. 17: "For whom is reserved the gloom of darkness." In Jude 13 we have the same words, with the terrible addition that this awful doom is "for ever." This mention of the long duration of the

gloom suggests very strongly that the lost will be conscious of the cloud which will cover them. Certainly these words would be a strange way of describing even an ultimate extinction of consciousness.

We turn now to the Book of Revelation. In so doing we must not forget its picturesque and dramatic character. In it, as in the parables of Christ, we look not so much for exact definition of doctrine as for vivid presentation of familiar truth. It must be read in the light of the plain statements of the rest of the New Testament. Only so far as its figures are confirmed elsewhere, or at least as various figures confirm each other, can we safely build upon them doctrinal inferences.

A very conspicuous feature of the Book of Revelation is its use of the words *βασανίζω* and *βασανισμός*, which we may provisionally render *torment*, to describe the future punishment of sin. A cognate word we have already found in Matthew xviii. 34 in the same connexion of thought. In other connexions the same family of words occurs several times in the Gospels and in the Apocrypha. The total difference of environment will make these passages most useful guides in our search for the radical meaning of the word.

These words were the technical term in Greek for the examination of witnesses by torture. They then passed easily to denote any infliction of acute suffering. A good example is found in 2 Maccabees vii. 8, 13, 17, where both the substantive *βάσανος* and the verb *βασανίζω* are used to describe the acute and somewhat prolonged torments inflicted on the seven martyrs. Similarly, in Matthew viii. 6, a paralytic boy is said to be grievously *tormented*. In Luke xvi. 23 we read that Dives lifted up his eyes, being in *torments*, and saw Abraham afar off. In verse 24 the sufferer describes his own condition: "I am in anguish in this flame." And in verse 28 he speaks of his abode

as "this place of *torment*." No words could more vividly describe acute suffering. In 2 Peter ii. 8 Lot is said to have *tormented* his righteous soul with the lawless works of the men of Sodom: a very strong way of describing the pain thus caused him. In all these passages the meaning of this family of words is beyond doubt. It denotes everywhere conscious and extreme suffering.

We now return to the Book of Revelation. In chapter xii. 2 the same word describes the agony of childbearing: in chapter xi. 10 we read that "the two prophets *tormented* those dwelling upon the earth." In chapter ix. 5 we are told that to the locusts who went forth from the smoke "it was given that they should not kill" those that had not the seal of God on their foreheads, "but that they may be *tormented* five months." A description is added of the pain thus caused: "And their *torment* is as of a scorpion's *torment* when it strikes a man." We have here actual suffering inflicted and felt.

With these associations of thought connected with the word before us, we now turn to three tremendous passages in which it is used. In chapter xiv. 9-11 we read: "If any one worships the beast and his image: . . . also he shall drink of the wine of the fury of God." These last words describe the stupefying effect of this punishment. The strange collocation of words following, "which is mixed unmixed in the cup of His anger," suggests a combination of different elements together with undiluted intensity. This terrible description of suffering is then strengthened by a change of metaphor: "they shall be *tormented* with fire." To this is added a new element: "and brimstone." A visible memento of suffering is seen in "the smoke of their *torment*." So to Abraham looking towards Sodom, as recorded in Genesis xix. 28, "the smoke of the land went up as the smoke of a furnace." But in this last passage the word *torment* is not used. Probably

when in the morning Abraham looked towards Sodom the agonies of its inhabitants were over. In Revelation xiv. 11 the word *torment* suggests very strongly conscious suffering still continuing. And we are told that "for ages of ages" that smoke goes up. (The Revisers have accepted a reading which gives to this prolonged duration special prominence.) Even this does not close the terrible description. A few more words take us almost into that sulphurous flame, and reveal the ceaseless unrest of the sufferers there: "And they have no rest day and night." An announcement of suffering so terrible requires careful specification of the sufferers: "Who worship the beast and his image, and if any one receives the mark of his name."

This passage recalls another from the Book of Isaiah. Touching Edom, the prophet says, in chapter xxxiv. 8-10: "It is the day of Jehovah's vengeance, the year of recompense in the controversy of Zion. And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever. From generation to generation it shall lie waste: none shall pass through it for ever and ever." The best commentary on this passage is the utter desolation which for some two thousand years has rested on the land of Edom. But this remarkable fulfilment at once proves that the prophet's language was not literal, but rhetorical, and warns us not to build doctrine upon the pictorial details of prophecy.

This ancient prophecy suggested probably the smoke ascending for ever in the passage before us. The chief point common to the two prophecies is the utter and irreversible ruin foretold in the one case as the doom of an ancient enemy of Israel, in the other as the doom of those who worship the present evil world.

Comparison suggests, however, points of conspicuous

contrast. In the doom of Edom the word *torment* and the other conspicuous marks of actual personal suffering found in Revelation xiv. 10, 11 are altogether wanting. The earlier prophecy speaks only of the desolate country, without any express reference to the punishment and suffering of individuals; whereas in the later prophecy we have individual sinners, a twofold statement of their sin, and words teaching clearly the painfulness of their punishment. This marked difference forbids us to bring down the meaning of the later prophecy to that of the earlier.

Another terrible vision in the Book of Revelation is the judgment upon Babylon, another reminiscence of the Book of Isaiah. In chapter xviii. 7, 8 a voice cries, "Give to her *torment* and mourning. . . . In one day shall come her plagues, death and mourning and famine: and in fire she shall be burnt up." Kings and merchants (verses 9 and 15, a conspicuous repetition) will wail "when they see the smoke of her burning, standing far off because of the fear of her *torment*." This last word, used twice, implies, as we have seen, actual suffering; and indeed makes this the chief feature of the whole picture. But in this passage nothing is said about the duration of the torment.

It is not easy to expound this judgment against Babylon as other than a doom pronounced against individual sinners. For the word *torment* is applicable only to persons. Moreover this exposition of chapter xviii. is confirmed by the similar language in chapter xiv., which indisputably refers to individuals. And the whole book is full of personal retribution.

Somewhat more difficult to understand than the doom pronounced on Babylon is that pronounced in Revelation xix. 20 on the beast and the false prophet. For these last are figures much more difficult to interpret than is the simpler figure of a city. But it seems to me evident that the beast and false prophet are aggregates of individuals.

Otherwise their doom is practically meaningless. Their punishment is described by the metaphor of *fire*, already so familiar in this book of terrible judgments; and the metaphor is intensified by the addition of *sulphur*. Conspicuous attention is called to the fact that into this place of torment *living* victims were thrown. "Alive they two were cast into the lake of fire burning with brimstone." Into the same, as we read in chapter xx. 10, the devil was afterwards cast. And we are told that the devil and the beast and the false prophet will be tormented day and night for the ages of the ages.

That the devil, who is evidently one person, is here associated with the beast and false prophet, who are metaphorical and apparently impersonal or rather aggregates of persons, need not greatly surprise us. The great deceiver and those whom he has deceived will suffer the same penalty.

In verse 15 the vision of judgment closes with the assertion, "And if any one was not found written in the book of life, he was cast into the lake of fire." We have here again the same metaphor of punishment by fire referring expressly to individuals.

With chapter xxi. opens a new scene, an absolute and glorious contrast to the verses preceding. Beyond the great white throne and the wreck of the present world, and the fearful doom of sinners, appears, in conspicuous contrast to the city which has passed away in the consuming flame, another city, the New Jerusalem, as a bride adorned for her husband. And in the splendour of that vision, as portrayed in verses 1-7, we seem to forget both sin and its punishment. "He shall wipe away every tear from their eyes. And death shall be no longer: neither shall there be any longer mourning, nor cry, nor toil. For the former things have gone away." These words taken alone might suggest a complete extinction of all evil. But that this

is not so, we soon learn. Even across this landscape of undimmed glory creeps a dark shadow. From amid that brightness we catch a glimpse of sinners and their awful doom, depicted in the colours already so familiar: "But the cowardly, and unbelieving, and abominable, and murderers, and fornicators, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all the liars shall have their part in the lake burning with fire and brimstone, which is the second death." The dark shadow is but for a moment, and the bright vision returns. From a lofty mountain we see again the holy city descending out of heaven from God. And as it approaches we mark its lofty walls, its vast proportions, its gates of pearl, its streets of gold, its foundations of precious stones, and its splendour, making needless the light of the sun. But again a dark shadow is flung across the scene, a shadow the deeper because of the brightness of the light intercepted. "There shall not enter into it anything common, and he that maketh an abomination and a lie; but only they that are written in the Lamb's book of life." Again the shadow vanishes. We see (chapter xxii. 1-5) the river with its trees of life bearing many fruits and leaves of healing. "And there shall be no curse any longer. And the throne of God and the Lamb shall be in it. And His servants shall serve Him; and they shall see His face, and His name shall be on their foreheads. And there shall be night no longer. And they need no light of lamp or light of sun: for the Lord God will give them light. And they shall reign for the ages of the ages."

The vision is over. The angel assures John that "these words are trustworthy and true." And he adds, in verse 11, other words of solemn import. "The unrighteous man, let him be unrighteous yet more; and the filthy man, let him be defiled yet more: and the righteous man, let him do righteousness yet more; and the holy man, let him be sanctified yet more." Surely these words are not addressed

to men now living. And, if not, they must describe men contemporaneous with the foregoing visions of glory. This is confirmed by verse 14. Blessing hastes to follow curse: "Blessed are they who wash their robes in order that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may go in through the gates into the city." But side by side of this blessing we have another vision of punishment: "Outside are the dogs, and the sorcerers, and the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters, and every one who loveth and maketh a lie."

These deep shadows falling four times across the bright vision with which closes this wonderful Book of Revelation are most significant. Touching some bad men living in his own day, St. Paul wrote in Philippians iii. 19, "whose end is destruction." This judgment we now see fulfilled. On the utmost verge of the prophet's farthest vision, and outside the eternal and glorious home of the righteous, we see men who are still characterized by the sins they committed on earth. In former visions we have seen them in actual sufferings. And the duration of this suffering is described in words thought worthy to describe the duration of the blessedness of the saved. Surely this is *destruction*: for it is the loss of everything that makes existence worth having. And the absence, from these visions, of any glimmer of hope is in terrible agreement with the assertion of the Apostle that of these men destruction is *the end*. Thus, amid many differences, beneath the cool argument of the pupil of Gamaliel and the vivid colouring of this great prophecy there is real and deep harmony. Midway between these two, in close agreement with each and in conspicuous agreement with the Book of Revelation, is the teaching of the Synoptist Gospels. Thus practically agree three very diverse types of New Testament teaching.

Such, as it seems to me, is the picture set before us in the Book of Revelation. If in any measure I have strained

the meaning of the words I have endeavoured to expound, the reader will correct me. My aim has been to reproduce, in dry light, the ideas which the words expounded would themselves suggest to those who first read them. In estimating their significance, we must not forget that they are prophetic pictures, and must therefore be expounded with utmost caution. But these figures were designed to convey truth, and must be appropriate to the truth they were designed to convey. Moreover, the figures coincide. And to a large extent they agree with the plain teaching of other parts of the New Testament. If we hesitate or refuse to build doctrine on metaphor, we need not hesitate to accept metaphor as a confirmation of doctrine taught elsewhere in plain language.

To sum up. Amid much we cannot understand, the Book of Revelation asserts in forms we cannot misunderstand that, beyond the grave and beyond judgment, actual suffering awaits sinners, and exclusion from the city of God. This exclusion and suffering are represented as continuing to the utmost limit of the prophet's vision.

In my next paper I hope to discuss the opinions of certain representative writers about the future punishment of sin.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

IN THE STUDY OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

FROM MY NOTE-BOOK.

I.

DID our Lord authorize the apostles to raise the dead while He Himself lived?

So says the received text of Matt. x. 8, and with it both the Authorized and Revised Versions. But let us see.

What are the presumptions?

1. The raising of the dead was the mightiest of the mighty works which none other man did.

2. Only three cases are recorded of the dead having been raised even by Himself. And what is noteworthy, they were at three stages of decay: (1) Immediately after death, in Jairus' daughter (Mark v. 23, 35, 39-42); (2) probably in the evening of the day of death, in the widow of Nain's son (Luke vii. 11-15); (3) four days after death, in Lazarus (John xi. 39, 43, 44).

3. No case is recorded of the dead having been raised by any of the apostles. Had any such case occurred, is it credible that no record of it should have been preserved? I cannot believe it.

4. Some one has remarked (I think *Bengel*) that no case is recorded of death having occurred in presence of the Prince of life. In this view, what an emphasis it puts upon these words of His: "Lazarus is dead: and I am glad for your sakes that I was not there" (John xi. 14, 15)!

5. When the Seventy were sent forth, with each the same, if not the identical, powers as the Twelve, and, on their return, reported their success, far exceeding expectation, they said, "Even the demons are subject unto us in Thy name" (Luke x. 17). But if either they or the Twelve had raised the dead, would they have specified, not that, but the inferior miracle?

So strong are these presumptions, that even if the textual evidence were overwhelmingly in favour of the received text, I was prepared to regard this as one of the cases where we are obliged to resist it. But it is by no means overwhelming. Were I to go into minute critical details, I think I could show that, taking all the facts together, the evidence of both MSS. and Versions *against* and *for* the clause is pretty nearly balanced.

It only remains to explain how this clause—"raise the dead"—might creep into the text, though not there originally.

When the poor Baptist, a solitary prisoner, had heard of the mighty works which his Master was doing, he sent two of his disciples¹ with the desponding question, "Art Thou He that should come? or look we for another?" Without a word of reply to them, "in that hour He cured many of diseases and plagues and evil spirits; and to many that were blind He restored sight"; and then said to them, "Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how the blind receive sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor," etc. (Luke vii. 19-23).

Now suppose the scribes had to copy this verse, and this remarkable scene in Luke vii. 22 to be ringing in their ears when they wrote, "heal the sick, cleanse the lepers," might they not slip in the clause, "raise the dead," though not in their text? And this is all the less improbable, since *the clauses are reversed* in some of the MSS. (which critics in such cases deem rather suspicious).

On the whole, I cannot but think that this clause slipped in *per incuram* of the scribes—authorizing the Twelve to do what, so long as He was amongst them, the Prince of life reserved to Himself.

¹ δύο τινάς, "certain two"; i.e. two *picked* ones.

II.

1 Peter ii. 1, 2: "Wherefore laying aside all malice, . . . as newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby" (A.V.)

"Putting away therefore all, . . . as newborn babes, long for the spiritual milk [marg., Gr. "reasonable"] which is without guile, that ye may grow thereby unto salvation" (R.V.)

The *context* is always the best guide to the sense of any difficult passage, or at least the first thing to be looked at. Now the first chapter expressed emphatically two great truths: that they had been "born again"; and that the instrument of this was "*the word of God*, which liveth and abideth for ever." But as yet (he says, chap. ii.) ye are only "newborn babes," and, as such, have need to "*grow*." And, just as the proper nourishment of babes is the milk of her that bare them, so the milk of that *word* by which ye were born again is what ye must crave, and grow thereby. That this is the real sense of the verse in question seems to me so evident, that I cannot but hold that the A.V. expresses it, though not perhaps so well as might be; whereas the R.V.—as if it were necessary to translate the Greek adjective (λογικός) by a corresponding English one—has given an unnatural and scarcely intelligible rendering of the verse. The Greek adjective is used only once elsewhere in the New Testament, in Rom. xii. 1, and there it is properly rendered "reasonable"; but though the Revisers could hardly translate "reasonable milk," they have used "spiritual" as the nearest to what seemed the meaning. But the apostle is not characterizing the milk he is speaking of as incorporeal, nor characterizing it at all; he wants to hold up the *word* itself as the milk they were to crave, and to express this he turns the noun *logos* into an adjective *logikos* (a kind of play upon the

word for which we have no English equivalent). *Bengel*, whose exegetical instinct seldom fails him, takes this view of it. And so *Beza*, whom our A.V. follows. So Canon Cook (*Speaker's Commentary*), and *Cremer* (*Bibl. Theol. Lexicon of New Testament Greek*), who has some good remarks on the word.

The sense of the verse thus settled, we think the translation may be considerably improved. "Desire" is too weak to express what the apostle means by ἐπιποθήσατε, the *craving* of newborn babes after their mother's milk. And "long for" is not a happy substitute either for the natural or the spiritual milk. But "crave," a good English word, and the very thing intended, should doubtless be the word used. "Sincere milk" probably meant (in the old sense of the word) "pure," unalloyed; and "unalloyed" well enough expresses the sense of the Greek adjective. But as applied to milk, "unadulterated" is the best word; and a word of the same import is applied to the *word* of God by the Apostle Paul: "We are not as many which *corrupt* the word of God" (2 Cor. ii. 17). The Revised Version here is most unhappy. A guileless *person* we understand, but a guileless substance is nonsense. The English word most suitable here expresses the idea to every intelligent reader. To "adulterate milk" every milk-boy understands. The word, though long, would soon create no difficulty in the humblest cottage—now that elementary education of the best kind is compulsory—were they made to read 1 Peter ii. 2 thus: "Crave the unadulterated milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby."

III.

Hebrews xii. 2: "(Jesus) the author and finisher of [our] faith" (A.V.).

". . . author and perfecter of [our] faith" (R.V.).

It is surprising to me that, when the true sense of this

verse had been so evidently missed by the Authorized Version, the Revisers should have repeated the mistake, only substituting "perfecter" for "finisher."

What the apostle here says,¹ is not that Christ is the author and completer of *our own* faith, but that He is Himself the Inaugurator and Perfecter of the life of faith, that He it is who at once leads the van and brings up the rear of the army of victorious believers, the Alpha and the Omega of "the life, walk, and triumph of faith" (to use the phrase with which Abraham Booth entitles one of his Puritan treatises).

The context makes it perfectly plain that this is the sense. In the preceding chapter a noble galaxy of the ancient heroes of faith had been spread out before the readers as examples for Christians to follow; but when he comes to the Prince of believers, all that went before Him seem to pale before Him. 'Fired by the sight of such a cloud of witnesses to the power of faith to overcome the world, do ye run the same race,' but "looking (away) unto Jesus (*ἀφορῶντες*), the Instaurator and Perfecter of faith." There is no word for "*our*" in the Greek. But, as if to force the passage to refer to our own faith, both versions introduce the italic "*our*"—an inexcusable liberty in such a case. Why not render thus: "the Captain and Perfecter of faith"? I have only to add, that what puts sense

¹ I decline to say "the writer," as if the author of the substance as well as the phraseology of the epistle were both equally unknown. In the earliest Church, both matter and style were held to be Paul's; and even when, on closer inspection, the *style* did not seem to such a competent scholar as *Origen* to be his style, he still held the matter to be his. And the more I study the characteristic terms, and certain almost unnoticeable ingenuities of the apostle, the more I read his very mind in this epistle. Theologically, he stands out *facile princeps* in the Epistles to the Romans and the Colossians; experimentally in the Ephesians, etc. But on the great High Priest of our profession, who could open up the treasures of the Old Testament *Preparatio Evangelica* with such surpassing richness but our one apostle? But to suppose that this incomparable epistle came out of the hands, matter and style alike, of some absolutely unknown Christian, is more than I can take in.

beyond all doubt, as the thing meant, is that the apostle specifies in the verse following *the very exercise of faith* by which Christ overcame: "Who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame, and hath sat down at the right hand of the throne of God." The *object* held out to Him was "the joy" of being able to "see of the travail of His soul (the fruit of His sufferings) and be satisfied,"—able to "present unto Himself a glorious Church (of ransomed souls), not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Eph. v. 27). That joyous object He held ever before Him. His Incarnation and sufferings unto death, even the death of the cross, were the indispensable *conditions* of the crown promised Him. He grasped it by faith, held it fast by faith, and by the expulsive power of the higher affection made "the shame" of the cross—between two criminals, and amid the jeers and contempt of all classes, which to His exquisite *human* sensibilities must otherwise have been unbearable—seem the reverse of shameful. That was the triumph of faith.

Now what a pity it is that all this bright light thrown on our Lord's Example, as the "Leader and Conductor" of the army of believers, has been lost to the English reader by both versions of this passage!

But some one may say, Is this view of Christ as our Example as a believer anywhere else expressed in the New Testament? I answer, Thank you for asking the question; for it directs us to some outstanding passages in which it is by many all but overlooked. When, on being filled with the Holy Ghost after His baptism, "He was driven into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil," and there to try on His new furniture for the work before him, the tempter's aim was to persuade Him that the voice from heaven, calling Him the Son of God, was a mere illusion, the dream of an ambitious youth: of which everything around Him

was enough to show its absurdity—the Son of God left in a waste, howling wilderness, alone among wild beasts, and without food for forty days! Finding His faith still unshaken, and the cravings of hunger at the end of those days in all their keenness, laying Him open at every pore in that direction, the tempter returns to the onset: Well, be it so. “If you *are* the Son of God,” let us see what you can do. Just tell these stones to become bread; they will obey the Son of God, sure enough. “But He answered and said, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.” What the Son of God *can* do, is not the question, but what *man ought to do*; and that is My law of action. Israel was not forty days, but forty years in a wilderness that yielded no natural sustenance; but God never left them to starve. And the lesson thus taught for all time I have learnt, and I will wait His time. Seeing how invincible was his faith in Scripture, the tempter next tries Him with a text. “But what is this I see,” says stately Bishop Hall: “Satan himself with a Bible under his arm and a text in his mouth?” “If Thou art the Son of God, cast Thyself down” from this dizzy height. Thou art doubly safe. Nothing can hurt the Son of God; and besides, “*it is written*, He shall give His angels charge over Thee.” True, but there is another text, “Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God,” and the Lord *My God* I will not tempt. Despairing now of success by plying him as a friend, the tempter throws off the mask, and working upon that ambition natural to robust manhood, he holds out to Him the splendid bribe of universal dominion, which he was free to dispose of to whom he would, “if only Thou wilt fall down and worship me.” This was too much. He could repel the proposal of a professed friend in friendly terms. But standing forth now *the naked devil*, He draws Himself up, and with a withering look of horror

and execration He orders him off: "Get thee behind Me, Satan; for *it is written*, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve"; and the Lord *My God* I mean to worship, and Him only to serve.

What I wish to press here is *the one attitude* in which our Lord met the tempter throughout. It was that of a *believing Man, resting His faith on the word of God written*, and overcoming by faith, as the Leader and Commander of His people.

One word more. At the cross, among the jeers that saluted Him, was this, "He *trusted in God* that He would deliver; let Him deliver Him." And the great apostle, whose penetrating vision in the Old Testament I find in its element in this epistle, when shewing the identity of nature in the Sanctifier and the sanctified, quotes some choice passages to prove this from the Old Testament, one of which is "*I will put my trust in Him*" (Heb. ii. 13).

DAVID BROWN.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CARDINAL NEWMAN.

II.

I BEGAN the article which appeared last month with the remark that it was with some reluctance that I had undertaken to write sundry reminiscences of the great Cardinal for publication. It is true that in August, 1884, nearly a year after I had left Birmingham, I wrote for the *Pall Mall Gazette* a short sketch of the Oratory there as a "Centre of Spiritual Activity," in which of necessity Newman was the chief if not the only figure; and this sketch I know he read with something like approval. But later I had my doubts whether, considering my peculiar position, it was quite in good taste for me to make public a view of his life

and character which I had formed when living as, in a sense, a member of his family, and I declined the offer of the editor of an important London journal that I should write a biography of the Cardinal for him. More recently I saw reason for somewhat modifying this opinion, and I concluded that, provided no "family secrets"—should such exist—are disclosed, it is only right that one's judgment should be put on record, or that at any rate sundry incidents which went to form that judgment should be noted down, as likely to assist those who knew him less intimately in forming a correct opinion about him. This view was further almost forced upon me when I read some of the notices of the Cardinal that appeared in the press after his death. With the carping and contemptuous tone of the writer of the biography in the *Times* I had of course no sympathy; but, on the other hand, the inaccurate rhetoric of most of the other notices stirred me to give what little aid I could in drawing a more correct and intimate picture: for, after all, it is in the little domestic touches that the really human interest of even the most distinguished careers is found.

That Newman was a successful ruler of men or an able administrator of affairs he would never have thought of claiming. In his relation with persons he showed a marked favouritism, such as is commonly and naturally a characteristic—I do not mean of course in any gross sense—of celibates. With sundry of the older members of his community—men who had followed him and had lived with him beneath the same roof for years—he would be for long periods barely on speaking terms. Not that he was hostile to them; he was simply indifferent. In other cases, those of men who left him, no doubt there was more feeling. Newman was emphatically what Dr. Johnson calls "a good hater"; and any one who disappointed him or thwarted him found him to an extraordinary degree implacable.

There was, in fact, no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears. A complete submission might mend matters; but the offender would for ever afterwards remain in the outer circle. There have been several members of the community who after such an experience left it, for the Oratory is not bound together by vows. On the other hand, no man was ever more responsive to personal reverence and affection, and towards those who thus approached him he showed a friendship that might best be described as love. His tender relations with Father Ambrose St. John he refers to himself in his *Apologia*; and though after Father Ambrose's death in 1875 no one ever filled precisely the same place, it is certain that he valued most highly the simple and blind fidelity of Father William Neville, while from time to time some new comer had at any rate a temporary experience—it might extend over three or four years—of close friendship with the venerable man, so singularly winning, so courteous and considerate, so feminine in his affection (if the epithet may be allowed as implying no disparagement), yet withal so dignified and so fitted to command respect. But as far as the government of the community was concerned, there is not much that can be said. Perhaps he was by his temperament unfitted to be a ruler. At any rate the normal condition of things was the *régime* of king Log, the superior apparently knowing and caring nothing about what was going on, while occasionally it would thunder unexpectedly when the sky seemed clear, and a well-meaning but over-zealous and indiscreet novice would experience a sharp rebuff. For the most part, of course, the men he had to govern were not of the kind to need external moral supervision, and the Oratory School was only indirectly under his control. There was however an instance which came to my knowledge shortly before I left, in which his inaction some years previously seemed to me hardly less

than culpable—inaction due no doubt to his dread of causing a public scandal, a scandal that would have been great in proportion to its unexpectedness. It is enough to say that an episode in the old age of Eli might have been used in illustration.

In his administration of affairs of a purely secular kind he showed less knowledge of the world than might have been expected of a banker's son. He was singularly fond of bricks and mortar and of the ring of the builder's trowel, and his plans were commonly on a grand scale. But the cost was not well counted beforehand; and though friends were generous over and over again in providing the means to enable him to carry out his building schemes, and though some thousands of pounds were expended by him with hardly adequate results, nothing was done continuously, nor was any one plan definitely adhered to, much money being frittered away in temporary arrangements and alterations. This was notably the case in the extension of premises required by the establishment of the Oratory School. Adjoining property was purchased, and that more than once, at fancy prices, and money was raised by mortgage to meet the cost, a process which had itself to be repeated from time to time, as the accounts of the community showed annual deficits. For all these details Newman was really himself responsible, though the community became so nominally by agreeing always to his proposals. It was the story over again of the Abbot Hugo of St. Edmundsbury, told so graphically by the monk Jocelyn de Brakelonde. Even with the humorous exaggerations with which Carlyle has embellished the tale in his *Past and Present*, it remains a very apt illustration, not even excluding the *quædam tacenda*, as noted above. The likeness was pointed out to me while I was in the house by one who had known Newman intimately for nearly thirty years; and when once suggested it was im-

possible not to recognise it, and afterwards impossible to forget it. But I believe that he was freed from all anxiety in regard to money matters some few years before his death by the accession of new members to the community who were in a position to put its finances straight.

He inspired fear as well as affection even in those who knew him best. There were marked contrasts in his manner. At times, at the hour of "recreation" after dinner, when the community sat round the fire, as in an Oxford "common room," and discussed whatever was uppermost, he would be animated, amusing, satirical, full of anecdote, and altogether delightful. Other evenings, under just the same circumstances, he would sit silent and apparently distressed, hearing or affecting to hear nothing; and, as soon as he could without discourtesy, he would hurriedly make for his private room. Disapproval he commonly expressed by silence, but at times his voice and manner would betray a certain fierceness within: and it was just the uncertainty of these outbreaks, as well as their rarity, which made him to be feared; but it must be remembered that he was always loved far more than he was feared.

With his conversion to Catholicism, or at any rate in consequence of it, all traces of what is called sabbatarianism disappeared. Of course he kept strictly to the Catholic rules of hearing mass and resting from servile work on the Sunday; but he had left behind all the Puritan extra-observances of the Sabbath. Thus, in spite of remonstrances from Protestant neighbours, he supported the boys of the Oratory School in playing cricket and other games on Sunday afternoons; while at the same time within the house the recreation room was made merry with the sound of violins and other instruments, he himself never failing to be present when any concerted music that interested him was to be performed.

I never knew him to express any definite opinion on what is most conveniently called "Darwinism," meaning by that rather the evolutionary account of the origin of things as they are, as opposed to the orthodox view of creation. I think his position was, that the Church should wait and see. I recollect his snubbing one of the community who was triumphantly adducing some difficulty raised by Mivart which Darwin had admitted to be serious and deserving consideration. This same priest, with a very superficial knowledge of modern ideas, had taken it to be his mission to refute all infidels and heretics, and had preached a course of sermons against the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, whose works he had never read. I cannot recall the terms in which Newman shut him up; but we took him to mean that he was opposed to all premature attacks on the position occupied by science. "We know so little," was a common phrase of his, and one very characteristic.

He himself, in his *Apologia*, has told us that as a boy he was superstitious, and used to cross himself—an act that certainly more deserves to be accounted superstitious in a Protestant child than in a Catholic one, to whom it is a matter of course. I cannot but think that he never was free from a somewhat superstitious habit of mind. Of course from the non-Catholic point of view most of his religious practices were superstitious; but this is not what I mean. Catholics must believe in the miracles of Scripture, but they are allowed some discrimination in regard to those outside it. Newman never seemed to care to avail himself of any such liberty of discrimination; and was as ready to believe in a mediæval miracle as in any event which the day's newspaper might record. To him the universe was a cluster of mysteries; even astrology he would not have placed out of court. I do not say that he actually believed in it; but I recollect his referring to the text, "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera," as

indicating scriptural authority for the view that there might be something in it.

He seldom expressed any decided opinion in politics. No doubt he was at bottom a Tory of the old school; but so far as contemporary questions were concerned he took account of men rather than of measures, and certainly had more sympathy with Gladstone than with Disraeli. Of the latter he never spoke without a smile. He admitted his cleverness, but never believed in his sincerity. On the other hand, when one of the community was complaining that by the County Franchise Bill Mr. Gladstone was going to place power in the hands of people who would be unable to vote intelligently, he defended the statesman on the ground that the measure (which in itself he did not defend) was the outcome of his unshaken trust in the instincts of the people; and he even went out of his way on another occasion to defend Mr. Gladstone's policy in withdrawing from Afghanistan and the Transvaal. I believe, however, that he did not follow him in regard to Home Rule for Ireland; but that is since my day.

One of his short poems, "The Married and the Single," written in 1834, expresses very clearly the view of the relation between the two sexes to which he held consistently throughout his life. It is the view of the Catholic Church, which makes the celibate state essentially the higher one for all. The outcome of this view is to degrade the idea of all love between man and woman that is more than friendship; and it was remarked to me of Newman, by one who had known him long and well, that he never could distinguish between such love and lust. Doubtless there were women, a few, for whom he entertained a sincere regard. There was notably a Miss Giberne, whom Mr. Mozley, in his *Reminiscences*, styles "the *prima donna* of the Tractarian movement." I only knew her in later years, when she was an aged nun of the Visitation at

Autun, in France. She had been for some time in a convent of the same order at Paray-le-Monial, but had proved too much for the sisters there when the place became a favourite one for English pilgrims through the growth of the devotion to the Sacred Heart. Even at Autun, where I saw her twice behind the convent grille, she retained at eighty years of age her extraordinary vivacity, and could have talked of Newman for ever. He had quite intended to pay her a visit either going to or returning from Rome when he was made a Cardinal; but his relapse at Leghorn on his way home made this impossible, and she could never get over this disappointment. He corresponded with her frequently and cordially, and said mass for her weekly as one of the benefactors of the Oratory; and there were a few other ladies to whom he also wrote, and with whom he was glad to have a few words when they called. But on the whole he held the sex in something like contempt. "You know I think them great liars," he once said to me, smiling; and then seemed shocked at his own boldness. He was strict too about the rules which excluded women from the rooms of the Oratory, though such rules are generally absurd enough in their operation. When one of the community, for example, was dangerously ill from pleurisy, his mother was not allowed to come up to his room to see him, the exclusion being due doubtless to a fear of making a precedent.

One secret of Newman's power when he took up his pen was his familiarity with current events through his never ceasing, while I knew him, to read his daily paper. It gives piquancy to the utterances of a man commonly thought of as an unworldly recluse when he can garnish them with apt illustrations from the news of the day. For many years it was the *Times* he used to read; but he changed it, I forget when, for the *Standard* on account of a sudden passion for economy. I think he went back to the

Times when the other paper had showed itself particularly ill-informed in its telegrams about him while he was in Rome. He attached much importance to the articles in the daily papers, and though he would lament at times over the total change of tone in them in regard to Christianity, which in earlier years they had all assumed as a part of the law of the land, I believe that he was more gratified by a laudatory leading article referring to his doings than by a similar letter from his bishop. No doubt the explanation of this would also explain how much more marked was the welcome given by him at the Oratory to an Anglican clergyman than to a Catholic priest. In the latter case, even though the visitor might be a distinguished ecclesiastic from the Continent or from America, it was often with difficulty that he obtained access to Newman at all, though this was not his fault. But setting that aside, he had little to say to such visitors when he received them, and was seldom otherwise than reserved. The visits, at one time pretty frequent, of his own bishop, Ullathorne, he hardly affected to treat otherwise than as a bore. But a Protestant visitor, such as Dean Church, Canon Liddon, Lord Coleridge, or whoever else it might be, was sure to be well and even affectionately received, and would carry away a delightful impression of his brightness and affability. These visitors approached him because they had reverence for his career and his person; the others presumably came as sight-seers, and were incapable of understanding his past. Such I think was his general view of those who came to see him, though doubtless in sundry cases this rough classification would have been quite unjust.

Much was said at times by people outside about the absence of friendly relations between Newman and Pius IX., between Newman and Manning, and between Newman and the London Oratory. To take the last first: Newman and Faber, though they had so much in common, were not men

who could with comfort live and work together ; and when the London offshoot was established, first in King William Street, Strand—on the site, it may be worth noting, where Toole's Theatre now stands—it must have been a relief on both sides. It was no whim of Newman's, but an ordinary carrying out of the traditions of the Oratory, which made the London community distinct and independent of that in Birmingham ; but it was partly his doing that the two houses practically ceased to have intercourse with each other for something like five and twenty years. There would be no use in going into details ; it is enough to say that there were jealousies and suspicions, for the most part unfounded and foolish, and in any case trivial ; but community life, such as that of the Oratory, which is more confined than that of a great religious order, tends inevitably to magnify trifles and to foster a narrow and clannish spirit ; and this may help to explain how that, though there were the usual " faults on both sides," neither side would have found it easy to state a serious case against its rival. The breach was apparently healed when, as Cardinal, Newman could visit the London house and graciously receive its inmates on their knees ; but it may be questioned whether the misunderstanding was ever entirely obliterated so far as the older members of the two communities were concerned.

With regard to Cardinal Manning a similar explanation holds. That distinguished prelate is before all things an administrator, a man of the world, and a philanthropist, and he has the characteristics that go to make a statesman, or at any rate a diplomatist, rather than a theologian or a thinker. The charge of ambition, commonly brought against him by those who know him only from outside, is just so far true in that he has always been ambitious to secure a position of recognised dignity for the Catholic Church in England, and further, in that his success in this

direction has necessarily involved his own personal advancement. Newman has always been to him somewhat unintelligible. He has distrusted his subtle minimizing of Catholic doctrines with the aim of rendering them less unacceptable to those outside. He has perhaps even suspected some kind of disloyalty to the Church in Newman's close personal relations with sundry Protestant friends. Anyhow the two men have been as little able to understand one another as a dog is able to understand a tortoise. And on that account Manning has doubtless from time to time done what he could to thwart Newman in undertakings which he thought would be disadvantageous to the interests in this country of what is most conveniently called ultramontaniam. The Oxford scheme he thus interfered with and prevented; and there was some evidence to show that he opposed Newman's elevation to the cardinalate, and that the rumour that Newman had been offered the hat and had refused it, originated with him.¹ At a later time, however, the two cardinals met at Birmingham, apparently on friendly terms; and when Manning found that he had been mistaken in anticipating any results unfavourable to Catholic interests from Newman's accession of dignity, he ceased opposing him. The moderating influence of the pontificate of Leo XIII. also contributed to effect their reconciliation. Newman himself thought very highly of Manning's gifts as an administrator, and he also told me that he regarded him as the best English preacher he had ever heard.

¹ Such at any rate was the impression we had at the time, though I am not very willing to accept it as correct. But it is certain that in February, 1879, some one from the "insolent and aggressive faction," as Newman had described the ultramontanes, was inspiring the press in a sense unfavourable to his being made a cardinal. I myself brought under his notice a paragraph which asserted (when the pope's offer could no longer be denied) that Leo XIII. meant by it to recognise the great work done by the London Oratory, and especially by Father Faber, *i.e.* by the men who had mistrusted and opposed him for so long; and I well remember his expression of disgust and impatience as he read the lines, but he said nothing either then or later.

What was true of Manning in relation to Newman was also true of Pius IX. He could not understand him, and consequently he distrusted him; and the feeling was doubtless mutual. This had been the case for some years before the summoning of the Vatican Council; but the estrangement was widened by the opposition of Newman, private and confidential as it was, to the pope's favourite project. Some ten or twelve years earlier Newman had refused the somewhat contemptible honour of being made a Monsignor, and after that Pius was certainly not disposed to offer him anything else; though it is absurd to blame him for not having made Newman a bishop, when he was (as he would have been the first to admit) totally unsuited for such a position. But after July, 1870, the pope seems to have anticipated having to deal with Newman as he dealt with Döllinger, and perhaps was even disappointed when no occasion arose. I was presented to him in 1876, just after I had been received into the Church; but when the pope was told that it was Newman who had received me, he exclaimed, "Padre Newman? Bah!" and passed on to some one else.

But Newman's relations with the Holy See assumed quite another character when Leo succeeded Pius and was persuaded by the Duke of Norfolk, a year after his accession, to raise the neglected Oratorian to the purple. There is of necessity something unreal in the cordiality with which the head of the Church receives habitually men whom he has never seen before, and is likely never to see again; but in the case of Newman there can be no question as to the genuineness of the affection with which Leo welcomed him in 1879. There was some natural sympathy between the two; and beyond that, the pope had been much impressed by the enthusiasm which had been evoked among all English-speaking people by the step which originally he had decided upon with some diffidence. Of course the

intercourse between them on the two occasions of their meeting was limited by Newman's want of fluency in Latin, Italian, or French; but it sufficed to link them together with an union of hearts close enough to put an end for ever to all suspicions or surmises about Newman's permanent fidelity to the Holy See.

Not that there had been at any time any real ground for such suspicions. Newman himself had on several occasions, and notably in the famous passage in the Postscript to the 2nd edition of his letter to the Duke of Norfolk, stated most positively that he had never since his conversion to Rome had a moment's doubt or faltering as to the legitimacy of the claims to which he had given his assent; and there is no reason to question his assertion. It has sometimes been insinuated that his heart always remained in the Church of England; and this is true in the sense that he never ceased to feel most tenderly towards old friends whom he had left in it; but as to any belief in the Anglican Church as a branch of the Church Catholic, or any lingering doubt whether he might not have remained within it, and have saved his soul by conforming to its religious system (whatever that may be), one has only to read his "*Difficulties of Anglicans*," in which the whole tangle of Tractarian theology is steadily and remorselessly unravelled, thread by thread, and as steadily rejected, to be assured that any other interpretation of his supposed tenderness for Anglicanism is wholly without foundation. He was interested, certainly, in the progress of ritualism, and used to notice with surprise the hold it seemed to be gaining over a section of the middle classes. He acknowledged the movement as an outcome of the earlier one at Oxford; but the legitimate outcome of the latter he always maintained was Catholicism; and though he had friends whom he respected among the Ritualists, he seldom referred to their proceedings without a smile.

At the time that I first knew him he had lately ceased to hear confessions in church, and I do not think he had ever heard many there since his return from Dublin. In the earlier days of his priesthood, when the Oratory was in Alcester Street, Birmingham, his penitents had been more numerous, and I recollect his referring with something like horror to his first experience of the coarseness of the confessional as it necessarily is among the poor of a large town. In later years he seldom heard confessions at all; and it was only in his room that he heard them, thus practically restricting himself to members of the community. One of these went to him regularly for some four or five years; but as the rule of the Oratory is confession three times a week, it may well be understood that it was a very brief and formal affair. Newman had nothing in common with those priests (mostly Jesuit priests), who make the confessional their special interest, and devote all their gifts, natural and acquired, to the edification of those with whom they are thus brought into contact. He rarely added a word to the bare formularies of absolution; and to those who came expecting much he was as disappointing in the confessional as he was in the pulpit. Probably his natural shyness and sensitiveness would go far to explain this.

With regard to what has been said about the specially Roman and Italian flavour of the Catholicism which Newman seemed to affect, it must be remembered that this was a necessary consequence of his being an Oratorian and of his having introduced the Oratory into England. He became a true son of St. Philip Neri, and had a genuine devotion to him. This is well illustrated by the hymns which he wrote in his honour. There is a touch of tenderness in them, and much felicity of expression, and they were very popular with the "brothers of the little Oratory," as well as with the school children and the ordinary congregation

in the church. And a necessary consequence of devotion to a special saint, when the life of that saint is known in all its details, is some sort of conformity of ideas and mode of life with his. There was much in Newman's character predisposing him to become a true Oratorian; and it may be taken as certain that, apart from the troubles and anxieties incident to the position of superior (which he held for life, by a special brief of Pius IX., the post under ordinary circumstances being only held for three years), the happiness of his life as a Catholic priest was mainly due to his being a member of this institute, for which he was so well adapted.

A peculiarity of his, very familiar to all who knew him, but one which, nevertheless, should not be left unrecorded, was his extraordinary subtlety in replying to questions. It was impossible to forecast what his answer would be; and those answers were often so wide of the mark that it was difficult to take them seriously and not to conclude that they were merely meant to gain time, or to evade giving any answer at all. We sometimes used to say jestingly, "It is difficult to know what he means; but this is clear, he cannot have meant what he said." It was not that we thought he wished to mislead; there was something about him that forbade such a notion. Perhaps it was his sense of responsibility, his knowledge that an *ipse dixit* from him could not fail to come with authority, that made him seldom or never give a plain answer to a plain question. Perhaps the peculiar subtlety of his mind made him see other questions involved in the one that was asked, and that towards them he directed his reply. But whatever may have been the explanation, it certainly was the fact that his answers were not answers to the questions asked, and that this was characteristic of him.

It used to be thought by some people, and may still be

thought by a few, that he did not value his Cardinal's hat, and would rather have remained plain Father Newman to the end of his days. This is quite a mistake. From the date of the accession of Leo XIII. he was not without hopes of obtaining such an honour, and when the honorary fellowship at Trinity was given him, he said humorously it was as gratifying as being made a cardinal. But the latter honour he felt was more desirable because it would be a recognition of his integrity from a quarter whence for many years he had experienced nothing but coldness. He was very keen about the matter when the offer first came to him tentatively, through his bishop; and on his birthday, February 21st, 1879, he told us about it, and said pointedly that he had not refused it, referring to the newspaper paragraphs to that effect which had appeared, and with which he was seriously annoyed. I happened to be with him in his room when the letter definitely came announcing the pope's intention, and I remember well how he burst into tears, and after a pause said falteringly that he had always tried to do what he believed to be right, but had been misunderstood and doubted, and that now this would be a public recognition of the singleness of his aims. Those were not his exact words, but that is their substance; and he accepted congratulations quite simply on this clearing away of all clouds for the evening of his life. How deeply he felt the honour is seen in the fact that he, quite unnecessarily, determined to go to Rome to thank the pope face to face; and the story of his visit there is familiar to every one. And on his return he seemed to take a simple, child-like pleasure in all the details of his new dignity. For some years previously he had been thought too infirm to enter the sanctuary by the rather steep and numerous steps ascending to it to assist at high mass, and he had been accustomed to step up unobserved by an easier staircase at the back. But on his return from Rome as Car-

dinal, in spite of two severe illnesses he had suffered from while away, he found new strength and almost agility, and habitually ascended the steps in question, though wearing the numerous and cumbrous vestments used in pontifical functions. Nor was this all. We had supposed that he would wish his public appearances in church to be few and far between, as he could not appear publicly without more ceremonial than that to which he had been accustomed; and two of the community were therefore scheming to provide for him a small gallery, such as in Rome is called a *tribuna*, entered directly from the house, in which he could assist at the ceremonies in church without taking part in them or being seen by those present. But this scheme he crushed promptly as soon as he heard of it, and announced his intention of going down to the church not less regularly than before, a resolution to which he kept steadily in spite of the fatigues to which it subjected him. I recollect too that when he went down to St. Chad's cathedral for some special ceremony, and had afterwards to cross the road to the bishop's house, he lingered deliberately on the way, while passing through an enthusiastic crowd of poor Catholics, mostly Irish, who pressed round to kiss his hand and obtain his blessing. He seemed to take real pleasure in all such recognitions of his new dignity, and, like St. Paul, he did not fail to magnify his office.

ARTHUR W. HUTTON.

(To be concluded.)

NOTES ON GENESIS.

CHAPTER I.

3. THE first verse is summary and prefatory ; the second shows us the matter on which God wrought ; with the third only commences the first act of creation.

And God said.—This is the first creative word. This word, not only denotes the ease with which God accomplished His work, it is the expression of His will. It is not, as in the Indian cosmogonies, “God *thought*, I will create worlds,” which are, in fact, the emanation of the thinking Deity (Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, viii., p. 420). He *speaks*, and it is (Ps. xxxiii. 9). He is absolute Lord and sovereign. The “word” is the mediating principle of creation ; it is the link, so to speak, between Him and His work (cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6). In Psalms cvii. 20, cxlvii. 15, 18, “He sendeth forth His word” (ἀποστελεῖ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, LXX.), the word is regarded as a messenger between God and His creatures. Thus a preparation is made in the O.T. for that full development of the agency of the personal Word in creation which meets us in the prologue to St. John’s Gospel : ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος. . . . πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, κ.τ.λ. (Cf. Heb. i. 2, xi. 3 ; Col. i. 16.) The eternal Logos is the Mediator in creation as well as in redemption. The spirit is the vivifying power which makes a living, sentient universe possible ; the word makes it actual.

Let there be light.—As St. Paul says, “God commanded the light to shine out of darkness” (2 Cor. iv. 6). It is the first work, because it is the indispensable condition of all life and order and beauty. Let there be light, and there

was light; or, with a nearer approach to the Hebrew brevity, "Light be, and light was." The words are quoted by Longinus (*Περὶ Ῥψ.* ix. 9), with admiration as an instance in their lofty simplicity of the true sublime. Light is the only material object which is used in Scripture to set forth the very being and nature of God (1 John i. 5; cf. John i. 5, iii. 19, viii. 12, ix. 5, xii. 35, 36, 46). That the light is thus represented as existing before the sun and the other heavenly bodies is, as we know, strictly in accordance with scientific observations. Thus, for instance, Halley says of the nebulae in Orion and Andromeda: "In reality these spots are nothing else than the light coming from the regions of the ether filled with a diffuse and inherently luminous matter"; and he adds that "these nebulae reply fully to the difficulty which has been raised against the Mosaic description of creation, in asserting that light could be generated without the sun. Nebulae manifestly prove the contrary; several, in effect, offer no trace of a star at their centre." This is substantially confirmed by the most recent observations. See the remarks of Professor Stokes, quoted in the excursus at the end of this section.

Job, like Genesis, speaks of the dwelling-place of light as something mysterious, and therefore not dependent upon the sun and moon. "Where is the way to the dwelling of light?" (xxxviii. 19); and again (ver. 24), "By what way is the light parted?" (Cf. also xxvi. 10.)

4. *And God saw the light that it was good.*—A not unusual construction both in Hebrew and in other languages, the subject of the second (dependent) clause being made the object of the first. (See, for instance, vi. 2, xii. 14, xlix. 15; Exod. ii. 2; Isa. iii. 10.) It throws into more prominence the light as the object of Divine contemplation and Divine approval. This is the first time that the Divine approval is recorded. It occurs altogether seven times at

various stages of the creative work, and marks the perfection of each as corresponding to the thought and purpose of God. God is not an absent, or distant, or indifferent God. His creation is the object of His care and love. He rejoices in His works (Ps. civ. 31).

And God divided, etc.—Light and darkness have henceforth their separate spheres; there are periods of the one and of the other. (Cf. Job xxvi. 10, "the confines of light and darkness," and 2 Cor. vi. 14.) The origin of darkness, like that of chaos, is not mentioned; God's word does not call it into existence, nor does God call it "good," but by His act of separation it is recognised as having its proper place in the Divine ordering of the world, as a necessary part of it.

5. *And God called.*—It seems scarcely necessary to remark that this expression does not mean that the Hebrew names for day and night were given by God, though the words have actually been so taken; but it denotes (1) that the common division of time into day and night is part of a Divine ordinance, that the distinction is in the nature of things, the difference being recognised in all languages; (2) that there is here an anticipation of man's appearance on the earth. The beneficence of this arrangement is recognised by the writer of Psalm civ.: "Thou makest darkness, and it is night; wherein all the beasts of the forest do move. . . . The sun ariseth, they get them away, and lay them down in their dens." Whereas, on the other hand, "Man goeth forth to his work and to his labour until the evening" (vers. 20-23). "The night," says Augustine, "is an ordered darkness" ("nox enim ordinatæ sunt tenebræ": *De Gen. ad Lit.*, I., xvii.). It is remarkable that the writer supposes the interchange of day and night as existing before the creation of the sun and moon, on which nevertheless this interchange depends. A comparison with the passages in Job xxxviii. 12-15, 19,

20, and xxvi. 10, already quoted, would seem to show that, according to the Hebrew conception, the light, though gathered up and concentrated in the heavenly bodies, is not confined to them.

And the evening and the morning, etc.—Rather, “And there was evening and there was morning, one day” (or, “a first day”), the cardinal number being used for the ordinal, as is not uncommon in Hebrew (*e.g.* ii. 11; Exod. xxxviii. 17) and in other languages. There was the close of one day, there was the dawn of the next. Thus the creative acts were presented to the recipient of the revelation in successive periods of day and night. The later Hebrew mode of reckoning the day from evening to evening (*νυχθήμερον*, 2 Cor. xi. 25; cf. Dan. viii. 14) is not adopted here, but rather the ancient Babylonian method, which reckoned the day from sunrise to sunset. Thus “evening” here is the close of the first day, “morning” the beginning of the second. This explanation was given long ago by Augustine (*De Gen. ad Lit.*, I. x., and *De Gen.* vii.).

In the intention of the writer, and to his perception, it is just possible that the days were literal days of twenty-four hours, though even to him the difficulty must have presented itself that three of these days are spoken of before the creation of the sun.¹ But unless we are prepared to deny all in-

¹ This did not escape the notice of Augustine. “Quid volunt,” he asks, “dies transacti sine luminaribus?” and observes, “Qui dies cujusmodi sint, aut perdifficile nobis aut etiam impossibile est captare, quanto magis dicere?” “It is very difficult, and even impossible, for us to imagine what sort of days these were, much more to describe. For we see that the evening and the morning of our days depend on the setting and rising of the sun, whereas the first three of these days of Genesis were passed without the sun, which was not created till the fourth day. . . . What sort of light it was, and how there could have been any alternation corresponding to day and night, lies altogether beyond the observation of our senses, and cannot be explained.” He suggests however that there may have been a far distant material light, from which the sun afterwards received its light (*unde sol postmodum accensus est*), or else that the light is to be taken in a mystical sense, as denoting the heavenly Jerusalem, angels, spirits, etc. (*De Civ. Dei*, lib. xi., cap. vi., vii.). And again, “But what sort of day and what sort of night are these? If by day he means one which

spiration, it is at least conceivable that the Divine meaning was something infinitely larger and grander. Divine days and human days may have a real correspondence, without being of the same length. We have only to adopt the supposition of a succession of great creative acts, passing before the eyes of the inspired writer, presented to him as in a series of tableaux, or in a waking or sleeping vision, and there is no difficulty. The "evening" and the "morning" are merely like the falling and rising of the curtain on the successive scenes. And this comes out more vividly when we keep to the true rendering, "There was evening and there was morning." To the seer the whole did appear like a succession of literal days and nights; but this was because God's work was on too vast and grand a scale to be otherwise presented. There was evening when the curtain fell, there was morning when the curtain was raised. When we try steadily to conceive of what is meant by an act of creation, we soon see how infinitely it transcends all human thought. It *could* only be presented to man in some suggestive outline. But the important thing to notice is that, according to the Hebrew belief, creation was not an instantaneous act, but a slow and gradual one. The preparation of the earth to be the abode of man was marked by stages of deliberate action. This certainly is not opposed to, it is rather amply confirmed by, all the observations of science. I repeat, I am not concerned to make out any harmony between the first chapter of Genesis and the discoveries of modern science. I have no sympathy with the impatience which insists on settling questions of this kind. If a man cannot feel the majesty and the inspiration of the record, no harmonizing

begins at sunrise and ends at sunset, and by night one that begins at sunset and ends at sunrise, I do not see how these could have existed before there were lights in heaven. Could the mere interval of hours and times have been so called apart from any distinction of light and darkness?" (*De Gen.* vi.)

theory will produce any effect upon him. But these two truths—creation in the strict sense of the word, a truth which no science can ever touch; and a gradual and progressive and orderly preparation of the earth in successive stages, a truth which science asserts—stand out in simple majesty on the first page of the Bible. The fact that of the seventh day it is not said, “There was evening and there was morning, the seventh day,” is noticeable. On the theory that the days are periods it is perfectly explicable, but on no other. Here we have the fact that, up to the creation of man through long ages—we know not how long—God was engaged in His creative work, a succession of creative acts. Since the creation of man there has been, in the sense of Genesis, no new *creation*. During all that “period” therefore God has been enjoying His sabbath rest. That has been His seventh day: the day of human life and human redemption, the day in which the world still exists. But during all that period, although there has been no new creative act, God has not withdrawn from the work of His fingers; He has ever been guiding, controlling, blessing it; His sabbath has been a sabbath of active benevolence. Bearing this in mind, how forcibly our Lord’s argument in St. John’s Gospel appeals to us (v. 17), “My Father worketh even until now, and I work!” Our Lord as man in His human sabbath claims to be following His Father’s example in doing works of benevolence. The sabbath rest does not mean idleness: *good* works may be done on the sabbath, in man’s sabbath, as in God’s. The whole force of the argument turns on “My Father worketh *even until now*.” From the time that He entered into His rest up to the present moment (when our Lord was speaking), His Father had continued to work: in other words, His sabbath was still continuing; and in it He was still *working*, though not still *creating*.

THE SECOND DAY (vers. 6-8).

6. A further separation takes place. On the first day light and darkness are divided; on the second, the waters above the firmament from the waters below. The earth in its lifeless, unformed state was enveloped in water and shrouded in darkness (ver. 2).

And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters. The English word "firmament" is taken from the rendering of Jerome, *firmamentum*, which again is taken from the *στερέωμα* of the LXX. and the other Greek translators. Etymologically the Hebrew word means something *stamped* or *beaten out*, and so *spread out* like metal. The verb is used in Job xxxvii. 18: "Canst thou with Him *spread out* the sky, which is strong as a molten mirror?" The notion is evidently not merely of an expanse, but of a *solid* expanse, capable of supporting the vast mass of waters above it. Similarly the Greek poets speak of the heaven as *σιδήρεον* (Hom. *Od.* xv. 328, xvii. 565), *χάλκεον* (*Il.* xvii. 425; Pind., *Pyth.* x. 42, *Nem.* vi. 6), and *πολύχαλκον* (*Il.* v. 504; *Od.* iii. 2); and even the philosophers, as Empedocles (Plut., *Plac. Phil.* ii. 11) and Artemidorus (Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* vii. 13) regard it as firm and solid. So likewise the Vedas and the Avesta have the upper waters in the heaven; and in the Egyptian mythology the sun-god Râ daily guides his boat across the heavenly sea. But it is possible to push a great deal too far expressions which are found chiefly in poetry, as if they were intended to convey definite physical conceptions. See for instance Psalm xxix. 3, "The voice of Jehovah is upon the waters"; cxlviii. 4, "Praise Him, ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens"; or again civ. 3, where God is said to have laid the beams of His chambers upon the waters (see also ver. 13); or such expressions as "opening the windows (Gen. vii. 11) or doors

(Ps. lxxviii. 23) of heaven," "making windows in heaven" (2 Kings vii. 2, 19), and the like. Figurative language of this kind is natural in poetry and among an imaginative people. But we meet with other forms of expression which show an acquaintance with the true facts of the case. Thus Job says (xxvi. 8), "He bindeth up the waters in His thick clouds; and the cloud is not rent under them"; again, xxxvi. 27, 28, God is said to draw up "the drops of water which distil in rain from the vapour thereof." See also Psalm cxxxv. 7; Jeremiah x. 13, "He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth" (cf. Ps. xviii. 11, 12). The physical notions here are plainly different. Besides if Job speaks of the sky being spread out strong as a molten mirror, a Psalmist (civ. 2) says, "Thou spreadest out the heavens like a curtain." No one would think of arguing that because another Psalmist writes, "He sendeth forth the wind out of His treasures" (cxxxv. 7), he supposed that there were certain storehouses in which God kept the wind; or when the author of Job calls the mountains "the pillars of heaven," he believed the heavens really to rest upon them (cf. Job xxxviii. 25, 26). Delitzsch quotes Petavius (*De Opificio Mundi*): "Cælum aëreum στερέωμα dicit non naturæ propria conditione, sed ab effectu quod perinde aquas separet, ac si murus esset solidissimus"; and remarks that this must have forced itself on the notice of the earliest observers.

And let it divide.—Lit. "And let it be dividing," the participle denoting that the division is *permanent*. (See Ewald, *Gram.* § 485.)

The waters from the waters.—More fully described in the next verse as those under and those above the firmament. The LXX. place the words, "And it was so," at the end of this verse instead of at the end of the next, which is in accordance with the use of the phrase in vers. 9, 15, 24, where it follows the Divine command, and not, as in ver. 7, the fulfilment of the command.

7. *And God made.*—The creative act following on the creative word (ver. 6).

And God called the firmament heaven.—See on ver. 5. No expression of Divine approval follows here, as at the conclusion of all the other days, though the LXX. have introduced it. But the Hebrew is right, the separation of the waters under the firmament from those above being only a preliminary stage to their being gathered together into one place (ver. 9), and the work accordingly being not entirely completed.

8. *And the evening, etc.*—As before, "And there was evening and there was morning, a second day," or, "the second day"; for in enumerations of this kind the article may be omitted.

THE THIRD DAY (vers. 9-13).

The work of this day, as has been observed, is twofold : (a) the separation of earth and water ; and (b) the clothing of the earth with vegetation.

9. *Let the waters under heaven be gathered together into one place.*—This is the obvious rendering, "the waters under the heaven" being of course marked out in opposition to those above the firmament, and not, as Delitzsch, "Let the waters be gathered together from under heaven," etc. The vast mass of water, which up to this moment had completely enveloped the earth, is now gathered into the ocean beds, and the surface of the earth appears. How this was accomplished we are not told. A strikingly picturesque description of this separation is given in Psalm civ. 6-9. It is at the rebuke of God, at the voice of His thunder, that the waters flee, and haste away, and sink down into the place appointed for them, whilst the face of the earth is diversified by mountain and valley. In Psalm xxiv. 2, God is said to have founded the earth upon the seas and established it upon the floods^{*}; and elsewhere the conception is that of a

vast subterranean reservoir, from which the sea is supplied with water (Gen. vii. 11; Job xxxviii. 16; Prov. viii. 28). After "and it was so" the LXX. add, "and the water which was under heaven was gathered together into the gathering places thereof," etc. This last expression seems to have been intended as a kind of commentary on "into one place," to show that it could not be understood strictly.

We have here a Divine-human representation. The author sees everything with the eyes of God; hence the colossal outlines: but he sees everything for human hearts; hence the human names, heaven, earth, sea, and so on.

10. *And God called.*—The giving of the names marks the separation as a permanent ordinance of God; see on ver. 5. "Our human naming is but a far off echo of the Divine" (Delitzsch).

Earth.—The name was used in ver. 1 of the earth as composing with the heaven the visible universe; in ver. 2 of the earth in its lifeless, chaotic condition; now it is the name of the dry land as opposed to the sea.

Seas.—Or perhaps rather "sea," the plural being used, only as expressing the various bodies of water, for the singular, as in Psalm xli. 3. The sea is now placed within its bounds which it cannot pass (Job xxxviii. 11).

But this separation between land and water is not enough, if the earth is to be the abode of man. It must have its clothing of vegetation. Accordingly the command is heard,

11. *Let the earth bring forth grass* (quite literally, "cause to sprout forth sprouting things"), the word "grass" denoting here all first tender herbage, such as, in ver. 25, is said to be given as food for the cattle. Beside this, there is the green herb, and the "fruit tree yielding fruit." This is the beginning of organic life in its lower forms. It is not quite clear whether three kinds of vegetation are here mentioned or only two. Delitzsch

takes the latter view, supposing that the first word, "grass," is a comprehensive term, denoting all the flora of the earth, which is afterwards distributed under two heads, the herb bearing seed and the fruit trees; and this is confirmed by ver. 12. Otherwise there is a threefold division: (a) grass including all the smaller plants; (b) the herb yielding seed including cereals and vegetables of all sorts, such as the Psalmist says are "for the service of man" (civ. 14); (c) the fruit trees.

After its kind.—It is not very clear whether this is intended to refer to all three classes or not. In the enumeration in the next verse, where the accomplishment of the Divine word is given, it is expressly confined to "the herb" and the "fruit tree." This is so far in favour of Delitzsch's view that vegetation is here described under two heads only.

It has been said that the botanical system of the writer is of the simplest and most primitive kind. How should it be otherwise? not only because he lived in the infancy of the world, or at least in the infancy of science, but because to have entered into minute detail in such a passage as this would have been ludicrously out of place, even if it had not been misleading. Everything here is on a majestic scale; everything is in outline. The picture is exhibited in a few master-strokes, and no minuteness of elaboration would make it half so telling. All vegetation, this is the lesson, has its root in the command of God, in the potentiality once for all conveyed to the earth by the command to bring it forth. God did not construct a number of seeds or plant a number of plants; He bade the earth produce the whole of the rich and ample vegetation which covers its surface, and it obeyed His voice. God's creative word gives to the earth the power of producing everything that we behold in the vegetable world, from the lowest organized forms up to the highest; and each of these

forms, once produced, contains in itself the germ of all future reproduction. On the question whether it was possible for this vegetation to exist before the creation of the sun, see the excursus at the end of the section.

12. *And the earth brought forth grass, herb yielding seed, etc.*—The italic *and*, which has been inserted in the A.V. before “herb,” has very properly been struck out in the R.V. Hence it would seem as if the writer meant the word translated “grass” to be taken, as it is elsewhere, in its widest signification as denoting vegetation generally. Then this is broken up into seed-bearing plants and fruit-bearing trees. Each of these is now said to be “after its kind,” each to have seed only, but the fruit tree contains its seed in the fruit: each having thus assigned to it a reproductive power, and the vast variety, the many species, of all being implied in the words “after its kind.” If we were to be guided by ver. 11 only, “Let the earth put forth grass, herb yielding seed, fruit tree bearing fruit,” we should conclude that we had three different classes of vegetation spoken of. If, on the other hand, we take ver. 12 by itself, it seems to speak of two.

And God saw that it was good.—On this stage of His work also there rests the approbation of God, and so the third day closes: “And there was evening and there was morning, a third day.”¹

THE FOURTH DAY (vers. 14–19).

14. *Let there be lights.* — The word for “lights” is different from that in vers. 3–5. It means the heavenly bodies as receptacles of light, “luminaries.” In order to bring this verse into harmony with a certain preconceived system, it has been asserted that what is recorded here is not the creation of the sun and moon, but their first

¹ “Tuesday,” says Delitzsch, “is called by the Jews *Ki-tob* (‘that it was good’), is regarded as a lucky day, and is a favourite day for marriages.”

becoming visible to the earth. But the narrative as it stands lends no colour to such an interpretation. If the writer had meant to say this, it would have been easy for him to express his meaning without any ambiguity: just as easy to say, "Let there appear," as to say, "Let there be"; just as easy to say, "Let lights appear," as to say, "Let the dry land appear." But he uses precisely the same expression which he uses in ver. 3 of the creation of the light: there, "Let there be light"; here, "Let there be luminaries." Both were to *come into existence*, not merely to become visible, by the Divine fiat. Moreover, if the luminaries had been already created, the word would almost certainly have had the article: "Let *the* luminaries (already created) appear." Nor is the argument valid which is built on the use of the verb "made" in ver. 16, as if it meant only "prepared." That the verb is capable of such a rendering is true, but in this chapter it is plainly used as synonymous with the word "created." So in ver. 26 we read, "And God said, Let Us *make* man in Our image"; and in ver. 27, "So God *created* man in His own image." (Cf. also ver. 2 with ver. 25.)

These luminaries are for the benefit of the earth, and prophetically for the benefit of man upon the earth, and subserve a double purpose: 1, they are to mark various divisions of time (ver. 14); 2, they are to give light upon the earth (ver. 15). This purpose is described more carefully and more in detail than in the case of any other of the creative works. In the creation of organic beings no purpose is mentioned. In the first three days it is merely hinted at in the names which God gives to the work of His hands. Possibly the intention may be to guard against the worship of the heavenly bodies, so widely prevalent among the Eastern nations. In stating so fully what they are, creatures of God's hand, and with what object they are created, *viz.* to be of service to man, it is implied that

they are not intended to be worshipped. The first object according to the Samaritan text and the LXX., is "to give light upon the earth." In the Hebrew text this follows in vers. 15, 17, and the first object is "to divide the day from the night." God had before this divided the light from the darkness, and had called the one day, and the other night; and yet He here gives to the sun and the moon this office—evidence surely that with the fourth day a new state of things comes in.

These luminaries are to be "FOR SIGNS." The word is used in a very wide sense, as of the mark set upon Cain (iv. 15), of the rainbow (ix. 12, 13), of circumcision (xvii. 11); of the sabbath, of portents, etc. Here it denotes apparently that sun, moon, and stars mark the distribution of time, the seasons, etc.; human occupations like agriculture, navigation, and the like, being regulated by the heavenly bodies: not that they are to be for portents (Jer. x. 2), or for astrological signs, a belief in which is certainly not implied or sanctioned here. The SEASONS are not the seasons of the year, spring, summer, etc., but fixed times (chap. xvii. 21; 1 Sam. xiii. 8; Exod. ix. 5), or festival times, which however in the Jewish kalendar were regulated by the seasons, being principally feasts of ingathering, harvest, vintage, and the like, or feasts dependent on the moon. In Jeremiah viii. 7 the word is used of the time of migration of birds: "The stork knoweth her appointed times."

The conception is that human life is regulated both in its civil and its religious ordinances by the heavens (Job xxxviii. 33), the apparent motion of the sun determining the succession of day and night and the return of the seasons; whilst the various festivals were dependent on the phases of the moon. (See Ps. lxxxi. 3 [4], civ. 19. The latter passage especially is a comment upon this.) Tuch and others would render: "And let them be for signs both for

seasons and for days and years," a possible construction (see Ps. lxxvi. 7, Jer. xxxii. 14), though other passages quoted by Tuch (Isa. ii. 13-15, xvi. 5; Jer. xlii. 1) may be differently explained.

The third purpose is "to give light upon the earth." Throughout, the creation of sun, moon, and stars is supposed to have a special importance in relation to the earth. And to one who believes that the earth is the theatre of the incarnation and the redemption, the importance assigned to this little globe on the first page of Scripture will not appear exaggerated. But even on the lowest ground, to a writer of that age the geocentric view of the universe was surely the most natural,—was indeed inevitable.

Ver. 16. In recording the accomplishment of the Divine will, which is introduced in the usual way, "and it was so," "the two great" lights—"great," that is, as regarded from the earth—are specified, and a particular office is assigned to them, "to rule the day and the night." They do not *make* the day and the night, but they are the most conspicuous objects in each, and upon the sun the length of the day depends. Cf. Psalm cxxxvi. 7-9; Jeremiah xxxi. 35. So Cicero (*Tusc.* i. 63) calls the sun "dux et princeps et moderator luminum reliquorum"; and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* ii. 4) "rector cæli."

He made the stars also.—The Hebrew merely says, "And God made two great lights, . . . and the stars." There is no pretence for saying that the mention of the stars is "parenthetic." The reason that the mention of them is so slight is that their position relatively to the earth is not so striking as that of the sun and moon. But Jeremiah (*l.c.*) speaks of "the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night," evidently connecting the two closely. [The rendering of the Vulg., "Et posuit eas (sc. *stellas*, in the preceding verse) in firmamento cæli ut lucerent super terram," points the same way.]

17. The order of fulfilment is different from the order in ver. 15, and introduces also the new purpose of ver. 16, which does not appear in ver. 15.

The names "sun" and "moon" are not mentioned. They are simply "the greater light" and "the lesser light."

18. On this fourth day also the Divine benediction rests: "God saw that it was good"; and "evening" and "morning" have with the creation of the sun a new significance.

J. J. STEWART PEROWNE.

*PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF
CARDINAL NEWMAN.*

III.

SOME remarks about Newman that have appeared in the press have assumed that as Cardinal he took an active part in the general government of the Catholic Church. This is quite a mistake. His cardinalate was as nearly an honorary distinction as anything of the kind could be. Not having any diocese under his care, as most cardinals have, he should by rights have resided in Rome permanently, and there no doubt he would have had to take part in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. But he was dispensed from this; and his being placed by courtesy on one or two of the Sacred Congregations—on that of relics, for example—was a purely nominal affair; and the imposing looking envelopes with quaint seals, which on rare occasions reached the Oratory from Rome, seldom contained anything but formal announcements of changes in the Sacred College, or "the compliments of the season," and such like.

He thought lightly of the advantage of "retreats," at any rate of long ones, and dissuaded people from making them. He could not exempt members of the community from such retreats, lasting a week or ten days, as authorized by

the bishop in preparation for ordination, but he retained his opinion about them. The Oratory rule makes provision for a monthly single day's retreat, which members of the congregation take, not collectively, but independently and alone, on any day they may select as convenient. It is a day of solitude and of exemption from the regular round of occupation and duty. This very sensible form of retreat he of course approved and practised, and thought it sufficient by itself.

That Newman failed as a ruler of men I have already observed, nor will it be disputed by any one who knew him at all intimately. He was, by a special papal brief, superior of the Birmingham Oratory for life—for more than forty years as it proved—and during that time no inconsiderable number of men, mostly converts to Catholicism, offered themselves to him for whatever position he might select; but he did not know how to use them, and they mostly passed on to serve elsewhere. Nor was it very different with those who did remain with him. In the Oratorian community at Birmingham there is a proportion of men of distinct and varied gifts; but the little they have done is almost proverbial; and yet it has hardly been their own fault. For myself, during my three years' novitiate, I was occupied mainly with the simple community duties, and, on my own initiative, with the writing of a book, which the Cardinal was good enough to praise and to furnish with an important preface; but when my position warranted more activity in what is called pastoral work, I can recollect little else than hindrances placed in my way by him. On one occasion however I did earn his praise. I heroically resolved to learn to play the violoncello—a thing no one should be so foolish as to attempt when thirty, as I was—and I practised in retirement for some weeks. Eventually in the father's presence I struggled through an *easy concerto*; and when he discovered who it was that

was playing the bass part, he came up to me eagerly, and almost embraced me, exclaiming, "I am rejoiced to see this!"

Personal considerations used to weigh with him, unduly I used to think from the Catholic point of view, when it was a question of condemning the ecclesiastical position of those whom he, like many other good Catholics, shrank from calling heretics. I recollect that in a note to the book which I wrote, I had criticised sharply the proceedings of a somewhat grotesque fraternity, now probably forgotten, called the "Order of Corporate Reunion." To my surprise he was determined not to let my criticisms appear; and on my standing by them the contention grew so hot, that I felt bound to agree to some modifications, else I saw the book would not be published at all. He explained to me afterwards that one of the chief movers in the "order" was a friend and a connexion of his. This also, however, must be added, that, when I was away from the Oratory for a few days after this, it being the time of my ordination as priest, he wrote me the most affectionate letters I ever received from him, one of which I shall always especially prize on account of the expressions it contains; though for the same reason I should perhaps be unwilling to make it public. This was in the autumn of 1879. Two years afterwards I again came into collision with him in regard to an enlargement of the public elementary schools, which indeed was necessary, though not on the scale on which I wished to have it done, as in the end it was. He was really vehement too in his opposition when, a little later, I was proposing that funds for the same schools should be raised in part by means of a bazaar. One knows that these things are objectionable, and are at best a necessary evil; but the violence of feeling aroused in him by this project was nothing short of painful.

A ridiculous fuss is made by some of Newman's news-

paper biographers of the absence of ostentation manifested in his wearing ordinarily as Cardinal a black cassock together with his scarlet stockings, biretta, and sash. One would suppose it was usual for cardinals to wear in private the scarlet *cappa magna* and to dine, like Scott's abbots, in cope and mitre. In point of fact, Newman wore habitually more of the insignia of his rank than there was any need for him to have done. The scarlet *zucchetto* or skull-cap is all that is *de rigueur*; and I think that the Jesuit Cardinal Franzelin never, even in Rome, wore anything more distinctive than this. I do not doubt that Newman possessed a due measure of the Christian virtue of humility, quite compatible with a decided belief in himself and an insistence on his dignity as a prince of the Church; but one need not go the wrong way to prove it. Certainly there was never any posing, never any pomposity about him. His taking a kind of childlike pleasure in ecclesiastical costume and in Church ceremonial is quite consistent with this; and I must not be taken to imply that it was vanity, still less any vulgar ostentation, that made him apparently delight in wearing the imposing robes of a cardinal when he assisted at high mass. Vulgarly is indeed the very last thing that one can associate with him.

I remember once walking with Newman (before he was Cardinal) to a suburban station near the Oratory, to take the train towards Rednal. We were talking about a possible revision of the Breviary; and he said, fully and frankly, that the compilers of the legends had evidently preferred what they took to be edification to historical truth. There is of course no doubt about this. The principle (if such it be) was admitted as long ago as the time of Eusebius; and in accordance with it every life of every saint has been written,—one might add every religious biography; the official life of Newman himself will be no exception. But I remember that at the time the thought occurred to me,

"This is only what poor Kingsley said." And now we have had printed Newman's letter to Sir William Cope on the occasion of Kingsley's death,¹ in which he practically admits that his indignation was all "put on." "It would not do to be tame," he says; "I wanted to gain a hearing, and I did not see how else it could be done." It is a curious and even an amusing explanation.

Some short time before Dr. Pusey died the Cardinal had been very urgent in asking people to pray for him. We concluded that he had reason to suppose that the doctor would wish to die a Catholic; but we were mistaken, for he anticipated nothing of the kind. I took him the news of his death, which he received without emotion, for it was expected. He merely said he should say mass for him, and wished the others to do the same. I represented the Cardinal at Dr. Pusey's funeral, somewhat informally, as I was among the mass of spectators in the aisle; and I remember well the touching effect produced by the singing of Newman's hymn, "Lead, kindly Light." He was always very strong on the "good faith" or "invincible ignorance" of pious Protestants who died outside the Church, and one would almost have supposed that in his judgment they lost nothing on that account. I recollect that when Mr. C. F. Lowder, of St. Peter's, London Docks, died while on a holiday in the Tyrol, I said something about the pathos of such a man dying in a land where his ideal of sacramental life was realized all around him, while he himself was excluded from participation in it; but Newman seemed unwilling to admit there was anything more than sentiment in what I referred to. Of course I should agree with him now, but at the time it surprised me.

Some pains have been taken to contradict the statement that Newman, some five-and-twenty years ago, contemplated founding a Catholic college at Oxford. It was really a

¹ In the *Times* for Aug., 18th, 1890.

branch house of the Oratory that he had in view ; but to all intents and purposes it would have been a college, since it would have encouraged Catholic students to come to Oxford, and doubtless would have provided a residence for some of them. The project was nipped in the bud by the ultramontane or *Dublin Review* party, the "insolent and aggressive faction," as Newman afterwards styled them, including Manning, Ward, and the London Oratorians. Ostensibly the scheme was disapproved, lest Catholics should thereby be tempted to send their sons to a Protestant university ; it is clear however that there was a personal element at work, since Propaganda, inspired from England, actually approved the plan, but on condition that Newman did not reside in the Oxford house. It is needless to add how deeply wounded he was by this decision, and how the project was at once entirely abandoned. As a matter of fact, Scotch and Irish Catholics are free to go to Oxford ; and though it was as near as may be prohibited for England, there have always been a few who have gone, more or less on the sly.

It may be worth noting that the cardinalate is not an order, like the episcopate, but a dignity. Newman was never consecrated a bishop, and his right to wear a mitre and use a crozier was thus purely honorary, corresponding to the right to wear mitres on certain festivals accorded to the canons of St. Mark's, Venice, and of a few other churches. He used these insignia, which are properly episcopal, rarely enough ; and though his magnificent head looked a perfect picture when he wore the tall Roman mitre, there was more distinction in the long, flowing *cappa magna* with its ermine tippet, a most picturesque and dignified costume, failing only in being topped by the graceless scarlet biretta. To my thinking at the time Newman's use of the mitre and crozier, though authorized by the ceremonial of the Roman Curia, savoured some-

what of the unrealities of ritualism, as he had never been invested with them in any rite of consecration; and the glaring falseness of the jewels with which the mitre was set gave a further point to my criticism. I fear it is not this mitre that has been buried with him. However, in his essay on Keble he has told us that the mitre and crozier were dreams of his childhood, which thus found realization; and it is just as well that he was nevertheless spared the burden of anxieties which would have accompanied those ornaments had it been his lot to use them as a bishop.

As I have mentioned the Jesuits in connexion with the misgivings they may very naturally have felt about the establishment of the Oratory School, and as some of my readers may be disposed to regard them as the intriguing opponents of every good man and of every good work, and by consequence of Newman and all his undertakings, I may as well say that he told me himself that the Jesuits had always stood by him in all his troubles as a Catholic from first to last. His confessor in Rome, in 1846-47, was, I think, a Jesuit, and with sundry members of the society in England he retained most cordial relations; and it was for Father Coleridge, S.J., and for the *Month*, then edited by him, that Newman wrote the "Dream of Gerontius," his longest and most exquisite poem, which, according to an assiduously propagated legend, he thought only fit for the waste-paper basket. The Jesuits now occupy at Oxford the position Newman had designed for a new house of the Oratory, and doubtless they do as much to attract Catholic undergraduates to the university as ever he would have done.

There was no pretence at ascetism about Newman, nor for that matter is asceticism in the popular sense contemplated in the Oratory rules. Neither poverty nor a poor diet, nor of course abstinence in the sense of our teetotal

friends, is expected of an Oratorian, but a sacrifice of a different kind. "A man's perfection," taught St. Philip Neri, "lies in the space of three lines"; and so saying he placed his fingers on his forehead. It was mental asceticism, what the Italians bluntly call "the sacrifice of the intellect," that was demanded of Newman as an Oratorian priest, and he offered it with his whole heart and in perfectly good faith. He preached at the funeral of Henry Wilberforce, at Woodchester Priory, and burst into sympathetic tears when he referred to him as one who had not shrunk from becoming "a fool for Christ's sake." It is touching, and I suppose that at one time or another most of us have thought that this might prove the highest form of self-sacrifice; but with Newman the delusion (as, I fear, to be honest I must call it) was life-long. I should rather place his claims to sanctity in his patient, silent endurance when misunderstood and snubbed by the magnates of the Church; but this will hardly be taken into account at Rome.

Critics of Newman—the latest of them being Dr. Fairbairn—who have contended that his line of thought tends ultimately to scepticism, must have quite forgotten that he never ceased to affirm that the existence of a personal God, and his own conversion and predestination to eternal life at a definite time in his boyhood, were facts as clear to him as his own existence. And when you are once fairly started with a *ποῦ στᾶ* like this, I confess that I am disposed to agree with him that a flawless and inexorable process, logical and historical, leads you on step by step till you find yourself

". . . under Mary's smile
And Peter's royal feet."

Newman's theology thus rested at last upon personal experience; and this fact, while it left him weak in argument with others who were conscious of no similar

experience, secured him personally against what is called infidelity. Of course, as I have already had occasion to observe, there was never any foundation for the rumours, occasionally circulated in former years, that he meditated a return to Protestantism. In spite of assertions to the contrary, I am confident that Catholicism satisfied him thoroughly. Still it is true that at one time or another Catholics, and even priests, doubted him, and were prepared with a triumphant "always told you so," and with facts to account for his secession, had it ever occurred. Perhaps Newman himself gave strength to such suspicions by his obstinate or heroic silence at these times; but anyhow the "facts" will not now come to light, as there has been no occasion to use them. Something of his early Calvinism always clung to Newman, though when opinions of this kind are held by Catholics, they are by courtesy styled Augustinian. Without adopting the terminology of the Gnostics, I take it that mankind was for him divided into *pneumatics* and *hylics*, the former being everywhere the predestinate to salvation, whether Catholics or not, and the latter being the "Liberals," about whose conversion it was not worth while to trouble, as they had not the grace of faith. I have referred to the generosity with which he ascribed "good faith" to Christian believers outside the Church; and I have reason to think he was even willing to extend this to some who had left the Church. The alternative of "mad or bad," which as a rule Catholics will only allow to such persons, was not in his judgment exhaustive.

He was very free moreover in his readiness to give his blessing to or to say mass for Protestants. Old-fashioned Catholics must sometimes have been startled by this, as it was like casting before swine the great privilege of the faithful. True, I have heard the question discussed as a *dubium theologicum* whether a priest can say mass for the

recovery of a Protestant farmer's cow—the question is a practical one in some parts of France—when the farmer is willing to pay the accustomed *honorarium*; and the affirmative reply is, I think, only allowed when the “intention” of the mass is kept strictly private. Newman of course never announced a mass as being for a non-Catholic at the time of saying it.

I have mentioned the linguistic difficulties he experienced in his intercourse with the pope in 1879. He made the best use he could of a mixture of three languages; but on two points, which he mentioned to us when he returned, it was pretty clear that the pope had not understood him. He had been anxious to receive from Leo XIII. a fresh brief authorizing the continuance of the Oratory School, and so he handed to him the original document issued by Pius IX. “Is this a present?” asked the pope, somewhat perplexed; and nothing further came of it. Again, it had been his idea that from 1879 the Birmingham Oratory should be styled “The Cardinal's Oratory,” as a memorial of its founder's dignity. (This fact, by the way, cannot be very intelligible to those who maintain that he cared very little for the honour of the hat.) But Leo XIII. did not understand what he meant, and nothing therefore was done—to the satisfaction, I think, of all the community, who took by no means kindly to this suggestion when he broached it, perhaps because it seemed to imply some disassociation from the Oratory's original founder, St. Philip Neri.

On the whole, although it will be gathered from what I have said that in my judgment (*valeat quantum*) his powers in various directions were much over-rated by the general public, and especially by those who (writing with the freedom and superficiality common to press-men) are ready to ascribe every kind of eminence to an historical personage whose career has caught the attention of the

civilized world, I do not think his merits as a man of letters, with a genuine but little exercised poetic gift, and (I will add) as a fine old English gentleman, have ever been exaggerated by any one. If it be true that style makes the man, then certainly Newman occupies a most distinguished position in the literary history of the century. I do not pretend to be competent to criticise his work; but it will not be out of place to note how, in addition to his singular felicity in stating his case with clearness and persuasiveness, there was always a playful or else a pathetic undercurrent in what he wrote; while his boldness in employing what is called "plain Anglo-Saxon," or, in other words, the phrases of familiar conversation, even when treating of most serious and solid topics,—this always gave great vigour to his pen. These characteristics are especially noticeable in his private correspondence; and when a complete collection of his letters is published it will take a high, perhaps the highest, place in that branch of literature.

The quiet dignity of his presence, concealing such strength, almost fierceness, of will, and the sensitiveness and refinement of his nature, which it was impossible for him to conceal, these made an "atmosphere" in his presence by which no one could remain unaffected. He usually said little, and was true to his own definition of a gentleman as "one who does not willingly give pain." But at times, and sometimes unexpectedly, he would speak his mind plainly and sharply; and to this may be attributed that fear with which those near him usually regarded him.

There are many persons, both inside and outside the Church, well qualified to write a life of Cardinal Newman. Among the latter I should name Mr. R. H. Hutton, for whom Newman's career has evidently had a fascination. Among Catholic laymen Mr. T. W. Allies must know the

earlier part as well as any one. Of priests, one naturally thinks of Father Coleridge, S.J., and of Father Lockhart, both of whom knew him long and well. But it is only in his own home that the materials would be forthcoming for the work to be thoroughly done. It was understood in my day that the Cardinal had written a full account of the establishment and progress of the Oratory in England, to be published after his death; and this, of course, would of necessity be something of an autobiography. I never saw the MS., but I believe it exists. About 1882 he went through his papers, and destroyed an immense number of letters which he thought ought not to see the light. Presumably many of these referred to trying episodes in his career as a Catholic, to which he would not wish to call special attention after his cardinalate had sealed his life with the highest approval. The whole truth therefore about these matters will never now be known. But at least two of the community, Father Ignatius Ryder and Father Thomas Pope, are well qualified to edit the papers that remain in the custody of Father William Neville, and to write a faithful account of his Catholic life; so we may expect with confidence that in due time the general wish for a really adequate biography will be satisfied.

For myself, in writing these "Reminiscences," which have extended far beyond what I dreamed of when I first undertook to set down anything at all, it has been my aim to speak with fairness and with the best accuracy my memory can secure. Those who know better will, I trust also with fairness, give me the benefit of their corrections, either publicly or privately. I am aware that I have recorded some incidents which Newman's Catholic friends would have wished left out. Suppression of the disedifying is an essential element in Catholic biography. But I have looked beyond the mere sentiment which ranks as disedifying whatever is unconventional and not a commonplace

in the lives of all good people. In funeral sermons it has been admitted that he was "misunderstood" by Catholics as well as by Protestants; and yet such misunderstanding seems quite gratuitous and inexplicable if the accounts of his life that have been made public contain all that was worth recording. I am not without hopes that I shall have done something to explain how it was that Newman had, as he himself stated in 1875, "more to try and afflict him in various ways as a Catholic than as an Anglican." I have endeavoured, by recording incidents which hardly one but myself could relate, to throw light on his unique personality and his inner life; and I do not think that he himself, with his contempt for conventionality and cant, would be disposed to quarrel much with what I have done.

It must be a source of congratulation to all who knew him and loved him that his death was so rapid, comparatively speaking, and so painless. He had always shown a great fear, I will not say of death, but of dying; and, beyond that, his intense interest in all things human gave him a strong desire, retained to my knowledge until his eighty-third year, to have his life prolonged. Well, it was prolonged beyond the limit which most of us would care to reach; perhaps he was himself satisfied with its length—but this I doubt. In any case, he could have desired no happier ending, save that some familiar faces were absent when he passed into the unconscious state. But there was no mental alienation, so common and so distressing where the past life has been characterized by great intellectual vigour; there was just the painless and gradual extinction of the vital powers; and then—did the *Dream of Gerontius* prove true?

ARTHUR W. HUTTON.

APPENDIX.

CARDINAL NEWMAN'S *THESES DE FIDE*.

1. An act of Divine faith is the assent of the intellect, certain, although *inevidens*, given to Divine truth.

2. It is *inevidens*, because the *motiva*, or force of the arguments which precede the act, do not by their own power compel the intellect to believe. It is however certain, since he who makes the assent excludes thereby doubt and fear.

3. This statement, though it at first sounds paradoxical, since it appears to imply that the conclusion may be more certain than the premisses on which it rests, is nevertheless to be readily accepted and defended.

4. And that simply is the ground that the assent of faith is certain. For if it wholly depended on a certain logical treatment of natural truths, unquestionably it could not be certain, since the natural light [of reason] does not provide such certitude.

5. Hence it follows that the human *motiva* which precede faith are not the *motivum fidei*, nor are they of such a character that faith can be resolved into them; but they are nothing more than the usual and indispensable condition which paves the way for faith, which moves the will to insist on the assent of faith, and which proposes and applies to the intellect, though without demonstration, the object of faith.

6. Moreover, these human *motiva* for faith are necessary to make it a prudent act, thus distinguishing it from the mere obstinacy of heretics, and justifying the condemnation of those who refuse to believe.

7. Wherefore, although the *motiva* for faith do not by their own power compel the intellect to believe, yet in their proper place, and in their own measure (so to speak), they are true arguments; and though they do not cover the conclusion, they point in its direction—that is, they render it credible.

8. And this credibility ought to be manifest to all people, even to the simple and uninstructed, so that they may believe.

9. Or, to express the same thing in other words, on these human *motiva* is based a certain moral judgment to the effect that the object of faith is credible; which judgment however, previously to the pru-

dent application of the authority of the will, does not exclude doubt and fear.

10. On the other hand, the absolute and perfect certitude of Divine faith does not appeal to ratiocination or to human *motiva*, but simply to this one fact, that God, the eternal Truth, has spoken, who can neither deceive nor be deceived.

11. So that, as has already been pointed out, Divine faith is not based upon ratiocination or on human *motiva*, but depends on the will, which, moved by Divine grace, commands the intellect to yield a firm assent to things which, so far as the *motiva* which go to prove them are concerned, can claim only credibility, and not certainty.

12. And herein lies the merit of faith, that it is an act of the free will, aided by grace, and not the mere admission of conclusions which the intellect is forbidden by sheer logic to reject.

THE LANGUAGE AND METRE OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

(THE following review of Professor Margoliouth's *Essay on Ecclesiasticus*, by Professor Th. Nöldeke, of Strassburg, which appeared in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of July 12, 1890, has been translated, with permission of the author and of the editor of the *Literarisches Centralblatt*.—EDITOR.)

THE present *Inaugural Lecture* must be taken in conjunction with the article on "The Language and Metre of Ecclesiasticus" in THE EXPOSITOR, 1890, pp. 295-320, 381-387, in which the author develops and defends against his critics the views expressed by him in it. In both he seeks to show that the original Hebrew text of the Book of Sirach consisted of verses exhibiting a quantitative metre, and that its language approached much more closely to the "rabbinical" idiom, and in general displayed a later character, than the books of the Old Testament which are commonly supposed to be the latest. Antecedently now it cannot but cause some surprise to be told that a North-Semitic dialect possessed an original metre, with definite quantities, such

as in the case of Arabic, with its abundance of short syllables, is quite natural. Nor at the same time is confidence particularly inspired by the fact that Professor Margoliouth assumes for this ancient period the same prosodical principle which enabled the Jewish poets at a much later date, in the Middle Ages, to produce an imitation, though an imperfect one, of the Arabic metre, by treating, *viz.*, a consonant with Shwa mobile as short, and all other syllables as long. The metre discovered by him, consisting of a threefold or fourfold repetition of the foot $\bar{\text{c}} = \text{c}$, is certainly sufficiently comprehensive; and inasmuch as Hebrew gnomic poetry (as is well known) is composed, as a rule, of lines of three or four words (very short words not being counted), instances conforming to the scheme proposed may no doubt be found, if one only searches long enough, especially as, by the use of longer or shorter suffixes, the insertion or omission of the article, or of אֵת , etc., considerable latitude is obtained. And the task becomes still easier when the liberty is taken—which, it is true, ought not antecedently to be excluded—of reckoning or not reckoning, as circumstances may require, certain helping-vowels, such as the compound Shwa in מִעֲשֶׂה , and of allowing the imperfect with י (convers.) to interchange indiscriminately with the perfect with י .

The more elastic the rule, however, the more difficult is the proof of its correctness! And this proof the author, in our opinion, has altogether failed to produce; indeed, his own instances tell in great measure against him. In the first place, he deals arbitrarily with the Shwa mobile. The punctuation of the Old Testament shows that, even till a tolerably late period, in cases like בְּכָתֹבִי , etc., a Shwa mobile was heard as the survival of an originally short vowel. That the mediæval Jewish poets no longer measured these forms correctly proves nothing with regard to a date some 200 years before Christ. It follows that the

verses with בְּקִשְׁתִּי, p. 317 of THE EXPOSITOR (xlii. 9); וּבְמִכְסָּה, *ibid.* (iii. 21)—where moreover מִכְסָּה disturbs the metre, for מִכְסָּה in the middle of a sentence would be out of place; וַיַּעֲדָה, p. 319 (vi. 6); וַיִּרְאָה, p. 381 (i. 8), do not agree with the supposed metre. כִּסְאוֹ also, p. 381 (i. 7), ought strictly to be scanned as - ˘ -, the ˘ being properly doubled. Even, however, though it were granted that all these Shwas might, as in the later Jewish poetry, be ignored, such a license could in no case be extended to the case of a Shwa following a consonant at the beginning of a word: accordingly the metre is destroyed by בְּנִסְתָּרוֹת, p. 317 (iii. 22); לְאֵבִיהֶ, p. 317 (xlii. 9—this verse is also in other respects unmetrical); בְּקִרְבִּי, p. 382 (x. 9); וְקָצֵר, *ibid.* (x. 10). In the insertion and omission of ˘, Margoliouth proceeds arbitrarily. Thus in xvi. 16 (p. 12 of the *Lecture*), ˘ before שְׂמִי is required by the Greek and the Syriac texts, as well as by the sense. Even however without the ˘, the verse is still unmetrical; תְּהוֹם moreover belongs to the second line of the couplet: here therefore a simple enumeration is sufficient to show the incorrectness of the author's theory. And yet on p. 383 he boldly claims the lines containing enumerations as on his side! But in these cases also each must be considered upon its own merits. In xxxix. 26 (p. 383) the ˘ before אֵשׁ cannot be dispensed with. In the same line also ˘ before חֶטֶא is certainly to be read with the Syriac, though even so the metre is not secured. It is further of questionable legitimacy to read at pleasure ˘ for ˘, as in וְרִיב xl. 9 (p. 383) and וְשִׁבְרִי *ibid.* (שִׁבְרִי וְשִׁוְטִי), on the other hand, would naturally be quite in order). In xxxvii. 18 (p. 384) the metre requires וְחַיִּים; but the Greek and the Syriac texts show that here no ˘ existed. Extremely doubtful also is the assumption that in such a book, in the simple proverbs, the names יְהוֹה and יְהוֹהִי would be used. It is a question whether even the use of אֲדֹנִי ought to be assumed. In no case however can Ben-Sira for the sake of his metre

have had recourse to such incorrect forms as צִרְכוֹ for 'צִרְפוֹ, xxxviii. 1 (p. 318), or מִלֵּךְ for מְהִלֵּךְ, x. 10 (p. 382). Not much better is יִכְפֵּן, xxxix. 29 (p. 383)—and that close beside יִבְרֵד—since כָּפֵן (Job v. 22, xxx. 3) is of exactly the same formation as בָּרֵד (فعل). To be sure the *monstrum* הַשָּׁנָתָא (p. 15 of the *Lecture*), which according to our author means “the years,” is a great deal worse: if a purely Aramaic form were here permissible, it must at least have been שָׁנִיָּא (though שָׁנָתָא is found in the existing text of the Targum on the Psalms).

To pass to another point, only upon stringent grounds could we at all attribute to this book such Aramaic words as are equally unknown to Ancient Hebrew and to New Hebrew. הִשְׁכַּח, “to find,” מְרֵעוֹת, “sickness,” and even לַחְדָּא, “very,” accordingly drop out of its vocabulary. In li. 16 also (p. 310), צָלִי, “to pray,” cannot have been the word used; the Greek text has here the true reading: in the Syriac ܠܚܕܐ is a later addition, and originally the Peal ܠܚܕܐ = ἔκλυσα was intended. To be sure, the author credits Ben-Sira and his readers even with a knowledge of Arabic: he supposes him, for instance, to have used ʿĀlam, “learned” = ʿĀlim (p. 16 of the *Lecture*), and ʿĀlam = ʿĀlim (p. 20), נְהוֹר, = ʿĀlam (p. 20), and in כִּרְב, a presumed corruption of כִּדְב, the ancient translators saw, it is argued, the Arabic كرب, which is alleged to occur also in New Syriac (p. 19). In reality, the Syriac translator has rendered iv. 30 correctly; naturally ܕܠܒ does not mean “dog” (p. 15), but “raging, mad” (*ܕܠܒ); see 1 Sam. xxv. 3. Similarly the Greek translator is credited with a knowledge of the Arabic ʿĀlam, “to entertain” (p. 302), a word with which the author somewhat strangely does not seem to be particularly familiar. He is also supposed to have understood חִסֵּד in the sense of حامد, and to have represented it by ἐπίβουλος (p. 19),—which by the way is not at all the meaning of حامد.

How uncritical Margoliouth is appears however most clearly from the fact that the word רְנִישָׁה, "sense," which he attributes to Ben-Sira, although it will hardly have come into use before the Middle Ages, is derived by him from the Sanskrit *raṅas* (p. 20). From the same source will then of course be derived رنيس, رنيس, the New Hebrew הרניש, etc.!

Naturally it is only out of regard to his metrical hypothesis that Prof. Margoliouth's translations are often different from what they would have been, had he been translating quite freely. In the first example of all, for instance, xii. 8 (p. 8), there is no other reason for deviating from the order of words presented by both the Greek and the Syriac versions (רְנִישָׁה which is expressed equally by رنيس, "is known"—not *doctus sit*—and by the reading ἐπιγινώσθησεται, would in any case leave his metre intact). ii. 5 (p. 304) the Syriac confirms καὶ πενία as the right reading. xxvii. 9 (p. 318) the form attested by the rabbinical quotation is completely supported by the Syriac, in particular למינו ישכן by لمينو فحن. The case is similar with xxxviii. 1 (*ibid.*), where at most הרפא might be read for רפאך (the Greek text had originally πρὸ τῆς χρείας). xxxviii. 9 (p. 319) דרשי שלמך of the rabbinical tradition is in agreement with the Syriac رنيس فحن, and in the second line סודך with سوك. ix. 8 (p. 320) رنيس corresponds with השחרו in the rabbinical quotation: כ' too is fairly well assured by رنيس, and the Greek variant. vii. 16 (p. 382) it appears from the line ταπεινώσον, κ.τ.λ., omitted by Professor Margoliouth, that the Syriac text at least expresses the sense better than the Greek. A Jew would scarcely have said לְפָנֵי שְׁאֵל for "before death," xi. 28 (p. 307); and a Syrian would hardly have translated these words by "before examining" (رنا, moreover, means not "to examine," but "to ask"). In all these instances the metre is ruined, in most cases irretrievably, and many another

specious assumption falls at the same time. We should like, lastly, to ask how i. 1 could be translated except by מֵאלֹהִים or כֹּל חֲכָמָה מִפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים? Whether, now, אֲדֹנִי or some other Divine name be substituted, the first sentence of the entire book disagrees with Margoliouth's metre.

We have placed more details before the reader than he will care for, in order to avoid the objection that we reject the new theory only upon general grounds. We could readily adduce more; but what has been said will suffice to show that it is confirmed neither by Prof. Margoliouth's own re-translations, nor by the proverbs preserved in the rabbinical tradition. Of the "rabbinical" words, also, which he finds in the book, the greater part must be treated as not proven. Such as are in some degree certain, as for instance עֶשֶׂה, are not more surprising than the expressions which Esther, Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, and the Hebrew parts of Daniel, have in common with the post-biblical literature. Even, however, though it could be shown that the Book of Sirach contained somewhat more of this kind than the books just named, it would by no means follow that it was later, or even considerably later, than they are. In points of detail, also, Margoliouth's philological observations contain much that is questionable. The engine which he has constructed against the well-ascertained results of Old Testament criticism falls to pieces so soon as it is handled with any force, even before it is brought into use.

The approximate restoration of the original Hebrew text of Ben-Sira as a whole is hardly possible, if only on account of the great differences subsisting between the two versions, both made directly from the Hebrew. With many individual verses the re-translation may be accomplished; in the case of longer passages it will only be successful occasionally. Even the attempt made by Bickell (*Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol.*, vi., p. 326 seq.) with li. 13-30

is not free from objection, however valuable his discovery is, that we have here an alphabetical poem. Undoubtedly our author's acuteness and boldness are adequate to such a re-translation; but he needs a far greater measure of sobriety as well. To be frank, we foresee from the continuance of his present project no further gain to science than perhaps here and there a clever remark on a particular passage.

TH. NÖLDEKE.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO "ECCLESIASTICUS."

By the kindness of the editor of *THE EXPOSITOR* I am allowed to say a word on Prof. Nöldeke's article on the Ecclesiasticus question in No. 29 of the *Literarisches Centralblatt*. I willingly allow that where I am at variance with Prof. Nöldeke the chances are very greatly in favour of Prof. Nöldeke being right and my being wrong; yet this violent review does not seem to me to really touch the vital points of my essays. For the question whether *השכח* and *לחדל* could have been used by Ben-Sira we have on his side merely an *à priori* assertion; whereas on mine we have in the first case *three* indicia, and I may now add the express assertion of the Syrian translator in xi. 27, where for *κάκωσις ὥρας ἐπιλησμονὴν ποιεῖ τρυφῆς* he gives *באשתא טבתא דיוכא תשכח*; and since *תשכח* does not mean *forget* in Syriac, the Hebrew must have been here *תִּשְׁכַּח*, and the Syrian by rendering it *find* shows that he thought it could have that meaning. And if it be clear that MS. 106 represents a partly independent recension (and this has not yet been denied), then its reading *αἰνέσει* in vi. 16 should be accounted for; and *יִשְׁכַּח* with *יִשְׁבַּח* gives that account; for these two words are certainly confused in xxxvii. 6, *μὴ*

ἐπιλάθῃ, Syriac לא תשבח; Hebrew אל תשבח or אל תשבח. And with regard to לחדד, the coincidences which I have pointed out require some explanation; and until a better one is provided I must adhere to my own. Now a few words like these are as good as a multitude.

With regard to the metre, I do not think it has been fairly treated. Some of Prof. Nöldeke's arguments rest on pointings which he would scarcely care to defend, such as וְרָאָה for וְרָאָה, וְיַעֲצֹךְ for וְיַעֲצֹךְ, etc.; most on an *à priori* theory of the Hebrew pronunciation of about 200 B.C., certainly deserving of respect, yet which must yield, if evidence can be produced. Some others rest on a slight misapprehension of the canon. This canon is the best colligation I can give of the fact of the form which many or most of the verses naturally assume, when what seem to be the true readings are recovered: but it is not an integral part of the argument; and the vital part of that seems to me to have escaped the fire of Prof. Nöldeke's criticism, even should any or all of the minor objections prove unanswerable.¹

In a book called חמשה קנטרסים (ed. Coronel, Vienna, 1864) there is a long quotation from the *Book of Ben-Sira*; ² some of the verses resemble those of Ecclesiasticus, but the work whence they are taken is not the same. Many of these verses are in *rhyme*; if therefore Ben-Sira knew of *rhyme*, why may he not have known of metre?

הוי רחים לשלמא
דעליה קם עלמא
רחים כל עמא

¹ Which last is far from being the case. In iv. 30 (כ"ב) my expedient is based on a comparison of all the versions; Prof. Nöldeke's on a confusion of the two hemistichs (!) with a meaning assigned to the Syriac כלב which, in spite of his authority, I regard as very improbable. Again حامد "means nothing like εἰσβολος"; the Latin translator who renders that word *invidus* thought otherwise; etc., etc.

² Page 7b. I owe my acquaintance with this book to a valued friend,

ואיזדהר מניאותא
 5 דלא יבא לכל נברא
 מבערא אפין מעקרא סיפין
 וכבניא אילן חלף תופין
 יליף כמלכין ואלופין
 וסעתהון לכסנד תורפין
 10 וסיפא ביקוד מריפין
 רחים עינוותא
 דלא תיתי לעניותא
 דהיא מאיסא ובסירא
 קדם יקרא לא יאיא
 15 אלהין למאן דהוה כדון
 עבד נבורן דלא סבירן
 אלפא אלפי אלפיא מלאכן ושרפיא
 נקשן נפיא משמען כמתתפפיא
 והוא מרישא איתנאי ביומיה
 20 עמיף ניותא בגלימיה
 והוא לבושיה כל יומיה
 ברם למצפצפין בשמיה מכיד רומיה
 ומשמי שמיא
 מטפיל לענייא ויתמיא
 25 מה משבח ויאיא הוה נבייא
 דאישתבח מפום בריא
 לית כעבדי נבייא
 מאן בניין מיניכו
 אחסין בתר מלכו
 30 ריש חכמה וסברא
 מדחול מקמא מרא
 ולא יימרינד לבך
 דהא לא כן רובך
 ולא תצית לרובך
 35 דטמיר בגובך
 אסתכל ואהני נפשך
 יומא דכל אפא חשך
 כד יקוד נוף ונפש משך

I MAKE no reply to the foregoing "Note," for a refutation in detail would be tedious; and I am confident that every qualified judge will perceive that it does not in the smallest degree weaken the general force of my criticisms. Certainly I grant that, according to the rules of the punctuation, I ought to have written וְרָאָה and יַעֲצֵךְ ; but even these forms do not produce the required metre. For i. 8 would still be a syllable too long, as וְסִפְרָה (for the doubled *p* cf. Job xxviii. 27) is $\cup\text{--}\cup\text{--}$; and the case is similar with vi. 6, in which וְיַעֲצֵךְ , as the "soft" (*raphe*) \daleth shows, has a Shwa mobile before that letter, and must consequently be scanned $\cup\text{--}\cup\text{--}$. For the rest, I content myself with adding the two following remarks by way of explanation upon points touched on in my review:

1. The Arabic كرب (the fundamental meaning of which is *to be tight* or *constrained*; see the *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, 1887, p. 447) is first used with reference to unpleasant emotions in *New-Syriac* (as in Turkish and Kurdish): the older Aramaic dialects know nothing of such a signification.

2. חָלַל in 1 Sam. xxv. 3 Pesh. is an *adjective*, exactly as in Sir. iv. 30: comp. חָלַל חָלַל , "a mad old man," Qardagh, ed. Abbeloos, 38, 4; ed. Feige, 27, 12.

How the rhymed verses quoted by Prof. Margoliouth (which moreover do not conform to his metrical canon) can be treated as a product of the second century B.C., I am at a loss to understand. Those who are conversant with the later Jewish poetry will doubtless be able to determine approximately the age to which they actually belong.

TH. N.

THE HEBREW PROBLEM OF THE PERIOD.

OUR LORD'S SECOND TEMPTATION.

THE scene of the temptations is the spirit; the sphere of debate is thought; the visions are wholly subjective. I take this for granted from the argument in the last paper. The literature is pictorial or poetic or semi-poetic; scenes of mind are expressed in sceneries of sense. It vestures idealities. We shall reach the mental disturbances and hesitations of the second temptation by their correspondences with the landscape drawn by the Literary Artist. We read the thought in the painting.

Our Lord is in the Holy City. He is standing on the turreted roof of the superb Temple recently restored by Herod the Great, which was the heart of Jerusalem, and Jerusalem the metropolis of religion and worship. "He who has not seen the building of Herod has never seen a beautiful thing."¹ Fergusson, the accomplished architect, has said of this pile of buildings, "Whatever the exact appearance of its details may have been, it may safely be asserted that the triple Temple of Jerusalem—the lower court standing on its magnificent terraces, the inner court raised on its platform in the centre of this, and the Temple itself rising out of this group and crowning the whole—must have proved, when combined with the beauty of its situation, one of the most splendid architectural combinations of the ancient world."² This structure is the visible representative of the old world, and of the heroic in human history and in the human faculty, which Christ has perceived, when He said, "Man doth not live by bread alone, but by the manifestations of God."

It is no giddy height, but a secure position where Christ

¹ Derenbourg, quoted by Stanley, vol. iii., p. 438.
 Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii., p. 1464.

is standing, on the battlemented roof of the tower, surveying the historic magnificence suggested by the architecture, and by the landscape of the city which that architecture commands. Within this pile are collected the representatives of the old system. Here was the Court of the priests, the successors of Aaron ; here sat the Council of state, the political heirs to Moses and David ; here was the College of scholars named scribes, who took the place of the prophets and represented intellectual eminence ; here was the ancient Altar which symbolised the inmost kernel of religion ; here was that vacant room, the Holy of Holies, which contained not a scrap of furniture, and the discovery of this emptiness by Pompey was the surprise of the then known world, and which surprise published the spirituality of God's presence with man. That Temple pile looked upon all the synagogues or chapels of worship over Palestine, and over the Roman empire, and was the centre of them. In every city and town of the Roman world was this chapel, where new ideas germinated, where the old system may be seen expanding ; here began those innovations which create revolutions, here those heresies which became masterful truths. The aurora is a discharge of electricity from freezing molecules of a stormy atmosphere. From these chapels of ease came flashing those magnetic lights, as of aurora erubescences, which kindled expectations of a change of weather, of a Royal Deliverer to appear in Jerusalem, which startled poets, statesmen, savants, and even peasants, pressed by the burdens of an exhausted world, which guided Chaldean astronomers to Bethlehem, which Virgil expressed in bucolic verse. The Holy City holds a great hope, and is potential with a new history. Uncounted possibilities for the future lay hidden within that structure, which was so recently restored, as if to make impressive the hope and the potentiality in the Hebrew race.

To take the lead of the Hebrew polity, to conserve its institutions, to work with it, to make Jerusalem the spiritual metropolis of the new world, to restore the monarchy of David in His own person: suchlike are a second class of thoughts which engage the attention of Christ on the Temple towers. There is a Hebrew problem in that age, staring the King of men. He discusses this problem, hearing the fascinating address, "Cast Thyself down."

"The most magnificent part of the Temple in an architectural point of view seems certainly to have been the cloisters which were added to the outer court when it was enlarged by Herod."¹ The Temple was a square building; the cloisters had thus four sides. On three sides the cloisters were supported by a double row of Corinthian pillars, each thirty-eight feet high. On the fourth side the cloister was supported by one hundred and sixty-two Corinthian pillars in four rows. By this splendid cloister the people of the city entered the Temple area, which was always thronged with ecclesiastics and their retainers and clients, gossip-seekers of the city, and visitors from the country.

The picture paints Christ appearing on the battlements of the Temple towers, and descending thence, superior to the law of gravitation, attended by a choir of angels, and in this pomp passing into the cloisters of the Temple and the colonnade of Corinthian pillars, the hosannas of cherubim declaring Him to be the Son of David. The picture paints Him receiving the homage of the national leaders and being elected to the throne of David.

The halo of miracle is suggested to insure the coronation. The Jews seek signs. It is their hereditary temper to bow to the supernatural; it is the temper wherever religion is deep in human nature; religion ever passes from the supernatural into its own shadows of the superstitious. Christ's temper and methods are violently opposed to the spirit of

¹ Fergusson: *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, p. 1462.

the nation ; He would be simply intolerable to them. The mood of the nation is almost incurably gross ; the moral tissues are cancered. The teaching of the scribes was a pedantry ; trivial laws about trivial matters were statutes enforced on a law-loving people. The religion of the Pharisees was an etiquette, a social show which purchased the praise of men. Priests worked a mechanical and magical ritual. Sanctity lay in rinsing the cup and the platter. Theology had become a question of cooking, dressing, posturing. This decay was visible ; but then the stimulus of miracles might be tried to heal the distemper, and win the nation to purer thought and finer vision.

The pageantry of an appearance in Jerusalem is only a painting of all the possible wonders which may be tried to secure the Temple for the basis of His kingdom, and to gain that splendid vantage ground for His empire. The visible opposition of the ruling, literary, priestly, and religious orders was going to be a painful element in the situation, and a serious obstruction. The breach with the historic Temple, and the withdrawal of His church from it, are going to be another painful element in the situation. He loves the Temple, and cleanses it ; He claims even authority in it, and it is for the moment conceded to Him. We see that refreshing violence which an indignant meekness shows when He upset the tables of money exchangers and whipped cattle and sheep dealers from the purlieus of the Temple. Christ has studied the nation, and He understands the temper. Decay is all around Him ; her wound is incurable. The spirit is gone ; the shell remains. He comes up to Jerusalem over and over, at the feasts, to gather the Remnant, to rally the elect spirits, to work with the Hebrew materials, and to honour the old system. He clung to Jerusalem to the end. To make Jerusalem His centre was a hopeless task, and He sees it almost hopeless from the beginning. He attempts it, and then abandons it, with the

sickness of despair. When the disciples pointed to the grandeur of the Temple piles, He said to them, "Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." He tried to save the nation from this doom, but it was not saveable. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!"

The temptation to Him who loved His people is to lay a special stress on the resuscitation of the Temple influences and the revival of the nation, and this by the only feasible instrument, that of miraculous exhibition. To work with the Hebrew materials, to keep the framework of the old system, to persuade the ruling Hebrew powers to His spirit, and this in the only possible way, by the display of signs, is vested in the form of the proposal to astonish the ecclesiastical population of Jerusalem by an apparition in the Temple escorted by angels. The invasion of the seen by the unseen is the medicine by which the sick nation is to be healed. The shock of miracles is the moral electricity which is to revive the fatal lethargy. The capture of the fancy by the supernatural is the expedient to be employed. And this reliance on the supernatural is pictured in literary art by the descent from the roof of the Temple into the courts attended by an angelic train.

To become king and master of Hebraism, to become high priest and director of the ecclesiastical forces, to become chief rabbi and principal of the Jerusalem schools and intellectual forces, to become the visible dictator of invisible powers, is in this temptation. It may be necessary to modify His ideals as a temporary expedient, and not to insist at once upon the unlocal, the immaterial, and the unformal. It will be necessary to meet half way the narrow spirit of the nation, and gradually to awaken

insight and perception. It will require thirty years instead of three for this education. These are the plausible and provisional deviations from the appointments with which He is charged. To ally the spiritual of worship with the traditional sacrifices, to wed idealism with legalism, to combine His enthusiasm with the dulness of the nation, and this as only a provisional compromise till a finer spirit is got,—these are alternatives which are looked at in this temptation. This conservative study, this love of antiquity, this patriotism, this less harassing and more attractive and ambitious method, are hidden in the folds of the poetic symbolism which pictures the ceremonious parade in the words, "Cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give His angels charge concerning thee: and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone." Christ has adjusted Himself to the broad problem of the world in one study. He adjusts Himself to the Hebrew problem inherent in that age in another study. It is a profoundly pathetic position.

This train of thought gives a natural basis to the temptation; the mission of Christ becomes the sublime occasion of a temptation to make another diversion from appointed methods and the approved programme. The question regarding this address is, What is the concrete form, the practical direction, the actual circumstances in which His Divine power is tempted into experiment and doubtful action? The author of *Ecce Homo* has said with insight, "what is called Christ's temptation is the excitement of His mind which was caused by the nascent consciousness of supernatural power."¹ But our author leaves the temptations in a beautiful vagueness as something which Christ "might be expected to experience."² If the temptations had been described as Christ's inspection of the structure of human nature and the problems of the day,

¹ *Ecce Homo*, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

and the examination of His supernatural power in its bearings on man and the opportunity of His mission, our author would have hit upon the specific concreteness of these addresses. Christ is considering His plan, adjusting Himself to His programme, looking into the scheme of things entrusted to Him. He is not in a phantasy of the future such as dreamers indulge. The literature of the reflections is the work of Christ Himself, and it is a fresco drawn by an exquisite hand, to express the surveys and debates, the possible modifications and the likely deflections, which started before Him. What does the fresco of the Holy City and the Temple, and the angelic irruption, and the pomp of the apparition suggest as to the real ideas which disturbed and engrossed Him? His relations to the Jerusalem authorities, His use of the Hebrew system, the subjugation of Judæan forces, are undoubtedly the ideas to be read in the painting. To inaugurate His society in Jerusalem, and to radiate Himself from thence, is a fascinating idea, in harmony with His best feelings. The employment of miraculous power for the founding of His royalty and metropolis in Jerusalem is the definite method to be used.

This reading gives vividness both to the psalm quotation which lends a glamour to the temptation, and to the quotation from history which dispelled the glamour.

The temptation is to an experiment, an excursion not included in the original programme. It is an experiment worth trying. It commends itself to the highest in Christ. It is an experiment of love for the ancient people, and of veneration for a sacred antiquity. The law of continuity is on its side. It is a conservative movement, and has the sanctions of history, which moves not by deluges, but by graded evolutions. Christ has come to fulfil the law and the prophets, not to destroy them. The subserviency of

the Temple power to Him is the best for this fulfilment. The method really entrusted to Him is revolutionary, which leads to the disintegration of the Hebrew system, and apparently to a decisive breach with Hebrew history. But may not the conservative method be first tried, and a continuity obtained before the extreme course of demolition is taken? The esoteric will be found in the exoteric. And it is a promiseful experiment. It will bring the nation into submission to Himself, it will recast its tone and temper, it will be a regeneration of faculty and feeling. A regenerated Hebraism will supply a powerful leverage to His whole work.

This experiment is an excursion into an unexplored country of contingences. Peril is visible in the experiment along with the advantages, and it is a region of probabilities. Power and applause are in it; it holds a likely kingdom; it is sure to make marks on the nation, which will not be effaced. There is an indispensableness in the past. This veneration of a loved antiquity, this heirship of the law and the prophets, even though it jeopardise some interests, cannot in the end be injurious to the Divine plans. The danger of force is in it, of the tyranny of the miraculous over the mind. Miracles leave no freedom to the soul; the mind is crushed by their proof. It will enthrone a monarchy of force. As the supernatural is withdrawn, and nature resume its courses, the power will collapse; the excitement will even make reactions. A tyranny over inclination does not convince the mind; and a tyranny of logic does not persuade the will. As soon as the external force is withdrawn, apostasy will take place, embittering and enraging the whole nature. The danger of even a temporary suspension of the spiritual, and a compromise with the temper of the nation, is also in this experiment. How royalty and death are to be reconciled, how a kingdom of sacrifice is to be inaugurated in the obtuse moods of the nation, is

difficult to see. The experiment has its equations with a new plan.

These debates of hazardous gains and of historic emotions, these visions of dangerous departures and of temporary triumphs, these cross waters and chopping seas of thought are calmed by a Scripture citation, and the quiet restored by the piety of the citation, "Cast Thyself down: for it is written, He shall give His angels charge concerning Thee: and in their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone."

The experiment is a dislocation of the original plan, to be saved by a miracle: "lest Thou dash and dislocate THY FOOT against a stone." The competency of the miracle is in the piety of the psalm. The excursion will be rendered innocuous by reason of the Divine powers which after the baptism are pulsing in Him. The freedoms of His divinity lend authority to this royal movement; the forces of divinity can mend any number of dislocations. The deviations can be regulated. The royalty to be won by the crucifixion can be won with more dignity by the crowned divinity. Christ is deep in thought about His empire over men; deep in design is the temptation to supplant the royalty of death by the royalty of force. The rugged, the steep, and the tragic are to be exchanged for the smooth and the brilliant. Stress is laid on the divinity; He is warmly conscious of a timeless and spaceless being. Where in Him the divine and the human meet, at the joints of this august harness of being, in this as yet unadjusted and incompatible region of being, there cross purposes are suggested. The reconciliation of independence and subjection is not easy. One of Christ's difficulties is His composite being, just as it is our difficulty to be body and mind and spirit. Frontier lands are scenes of historic strifes. On this border region, where the confluences of divinity and humanity are, is going on this battle of freedom and alterna-

tives. Will He postpone the sovereignty which is in full view from the roof of the Temple? Will He prefer the road of death and the appointments of the crucifixion, and refuse the stake visible before Him from these precipices, and to be had by His divinity. The greatness of Christ, the consciousness of power, invites this address. Mountain crests are beaten by storms from which the lowly valleys have an immunity. Mists and darkness envelop hilltops, while the meadows below are bathed in sunshine. "As Thou art the Son of God, take the independence, and command the homage of Jerusalem, yoke the forces of the Temple to Thy authority, revive the monarchy and the spirit of prophecy, and realize the ideal of kingship and prophethood. Make the excursion out of the appointed lines. There is no danger; for angels are here, and there is every competency, for Thou art free."

This dislocation of the original plan is also a precipitation of events. It is indeed leaping the precipices of the Temple roof; it is vaulting over the ordination of events. The supernatural as a despotism or as a precipitation is not permissible; it must not go roughshod over mind or nature. It must help nature to be more natural. Precipitation bowls time out. But it is argued that a supernatural order is ever present, allied to time and nature. The sun, moon, and stars constitute a superior order, modifying and qualifying the natural of our planet; and its latent capabilities are unmeasured and unknown, though enough is known that it may disturb the order of our planet, and raise it to another level, or sink it below its present level. Angels is the name for that supernatural order of spirits which are in alliance with the order of spirits to which we belong, and which work in similar latent and unknown ways as electricity and magnetism. Christ in this temptation is conscious of this higher order which presses upon us and whose forces can be borrowed. He Himself is in

this higher order. A finer system can be got by the employment of higher forces, without disturbance; and this recommendation is enforced, with pious opalescences glittering on its lines, by the literature of devotion: "He shall give His angels charge concerning Thee: and in their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone."

In the first temptation Christ has acceded to work with one large law—the Struggle for Existence. Law is honoured. In this temptation, this respect for law is conceded; and it is shown that there already exists a correspondence and an interaction between the higher and the lower order, and that the precipitation has the sanctity of law. Angels, higher agencies, spirits of other qualities, like ether and electricity, are assessors and intermediaries, and the spiritual world admits of their action. This excursion is not into fairyland; this precipitation is not a raid of the supernatural. It appears rooted in order. It has the authorization of law and order.

Still another fascination of love and hope gives colourableness to the temptation. The problem of the Hebrew Church is the resurrection of a nation, and who that has undertaken a mission to men has not felt that there is a rapture in seeing men resile from evil, and live lives recast to fine issues? Human nature is capable of revolutions, carrying improvable reserves of promise. No nation has shown this deathless capacity for finer conditions in her darkest days as Israel. Her prophets had seen this latent power, and shaped a robust truth of enduring force, and which they handed down as a consolation for good men. Isaiah was called to his ministry when the people were prostrate in perverseness, who had abused their privileges and prostituted their opportunities, who present an aspect of a conscience-hardened and a vision-blinded nation. He found, in a baffled ministry, that his commission was

written all over with despair, that the people had become more hardened. His prophetic mandate, judged by events, was an irony, best expressed, "Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and grease¹ their eyes, lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted and healed." When his heart sickened at his fate, and he knew how long this hardening and deadening were to last, he saw the form of that hopeful truth, that even in a hopeless stage of decadence, in its very dissolutions, humanity has a Remnant, a vital seed, an inner circle of life, from which a resurrection surely comes. Decimated by captivities and famines, though even the last tenth of the nation be consumed, there is in it a substance: like the terebinth and the oak, when they are felled, have a stump and roots left, from which they sprout again; so is the holy seed the stump and roots.²

THE REMNANT became the light and the song of the prophets, and one of the most fruitful ideas which our world has got, a ruling conception which became a theology with Paul and Calvin, and which inspired the robust practice of Reformers and Puritans. In the inspections of these forty days, Christ has seen the disease of the nation, and reflected on the ferment in Jerusalem which John's baptism had excited. The Temple is a nest of uncleanness; religion is a mechanism; literature, a pedantry of words without ideas; politics is a game of ambition; morality a casuistry of laws; philosophy has run into sophisms; the people are blindly following blind guides; the nation is consumptive all through. When He entered upon His ministry, He saw the same conclusions as Isaiah, and found the most adequate expression of His conclusions in the irony of Isaiah's commission. Matthew says

¹ Delitzsch on Isaiah, vol. i., p. 199, Clark's Series.

² Isa. vi. 9-16.

He spoke in parables, and found a repetition of Isaiah's experience, "The people's heart waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed" (Matt. xiii. 15). John says He worked miracles, and found a fulfilment of Isaiah's experience: "He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart" (John xii. 40). But still the prophet's REMNANT is there. In the tenth part is the holy seed, the living stump; the substance is in the fallen terebinth and oak. This kernel and nucleus of life is a vision in these debates, and its vast capabilities throw a charm into the temptation, and excite the pious enthusiasm of restoring and reviving and redeeming from depths of degradation. There is an election in humanity; Israel is indestructible. A blessing is hidden in the curse; a morning is the promise to the stormiest night; life is in death. The remnant is a text of thought and rhetoric; back and back upon it the mind reverts. And so the temptation recurs and recrosses, "Cast Thyself down,"—use the force of the supernatural for a monarchy of spirit: "for He shall give His angels charge concerning Thee: and in their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone,"—there is no danger, and there is hope of a national revival.

Piety commands angels and harmonizes higher law to lower law; piety and miracle and angel can meet any unforeseen contingency in a change of front.

The fresco of the Literary Artist is thus adequately rendered into history. But the historic picturesqueness of the reading will be more felt as we go on to see the aptness of the repulse. The attraction and the disillusion, the charm and the disenchantment, are in perspective. "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God."

There is no more unfortunate word in the English language than tempt, of incongruous meanings. The Revisers

have retained it in the Bible, as if there must always hang a haze of obscurity over religious ideas. It is undeniably a curiosity of philology, shading down from one meaning to another through several grades till it ends in a meaning which has apparently no connexion with the beginning, though really it is another pole of the same axis, and summons an interesting metaphysics to unravel its gradations.

God tempted Abraham is the north pole of meaning. The Israelites tempted God is the other pole. The temptation of Abraham contains the primary meaning of trial and proof, with a good intention, and which is preserved whole in the word attempt. God tested Abraham's relations to the economy from which he has come out, whether he would see that a kernel lay in the tragic custom of human sacrifice, and take the spiritual kernel and refuse the shell. It was meant to develop and articulate his attainments. When the Israelites tempted God, they provoked Him and invited punishment and disaster. When God tempted Abraham, He trusted him, and brought his trust into affirmation. When the Israelites tempted God, they distrusted Him, and brought their distrust into affirmation. This bad meaning of tempt is preserved in the passage where the additional word is given to express the consequences, "Yet they tempted and provoked the Most High"; and in the New Testament, "As some of them tempted, and were destroyed of serpents."¹ Between these extremes, of simple trial and disastrous provocation, of trust and distrust, we have a number of other meanings. In one the idea of suffering dominates: "He Himself hath suffered, being tempted";² "My temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not."³ We have the idea of test, when the lawyer tempted Christ, testing His capacity as a teacher or His claim as a ruler of men. Then we have the idea of seduction, or wishing to lead into evil, when the Pharisees

¹ 1 Cor. x. 9.² Heb. ii. 18.³ Gal. iv. 14.

tempted Him, asking for a decision in the case of adultery, expecting to put Him into a false position between Roman and Jewish law. In the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation," temptation must mean the pain of trials which are good for us, not to take us into a situation which involves pain, because God tempteth no man into evil. The classical scholar will notice an interesting mental process in the Greek word for tempt, *πειράω*, and the Latin *piratus* and English pirate. The pirate no doubt was regarded as attempting a dangerous enterprise, and provoking reprisal and inviting disaster.

We start with the primary meaning of trial for good purposes, and we reach the extreme, where the idea of distrust and anger at God, involving destruction from Him, rules the word. This sense is frequently given to the word in the rural districts of Scotland, where a mother will say to a provoking child, "You are tempting me," meaning, tempting me to punish you. It is this sense of provocation and disaster which attaches to the word tempt in the quotation which our Lord makes: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." By this word the Divine Artist paints in lurid colours the conclusion to which He has arrived in those days of anxious dialogue and debate with Himself, that it is not feasible, and will be certainly disastrous, to make the Hebrew system the basis of His operations. He would miss His mark, which is the essential idea in the Greek word (*ἁμαρτάνω*) which we render by sin. The Hebrew organization is all gone to rust and fast going to dust. An alliance with it would be writing His work in water. The Divine monarchy cannot work with any possible Davidic monarchy. You cannot square the circle.

This experiment of love and veneration distinctly involved the prolonged postponement, if not virtual abandonment, of His death as the new moral force for the new æon and economy. The idea of a royalty by death would be a

revolting foreignness to the temper of the nation. Insight was lost, and they could not see the ideality of their own elaborate system of sacrifices in a Divine death, nor of the crown of their King in the crucifixion. The Emmanuel and God-Hero of Isaiah has developed into the suffering Servant of God in the second Isaiah, but this was glossed. Death was no force; a Divine death as a royal power is an ineptitude of the mind. Christ crucified remained to the Jew a stumblingblock. Even the Remnant, the election of Israel, the select students, could not endure Christ speaking of His death. The new moral force would have to be postponed if any treaty had been made with the temper of the Temple power.

This experiment would further be the localizing of a universal religion. The Christian religion is to be a world-wide monarchy. It is to hold the essence of both Hebraism and Hellenism, to mingle Hebrew, Greek, Roman, barbarian life into a new complexity. The prophets of Israel, the philosophers of Greece, and the statesmen of Rome, and the bards of paganism are to find their fulfilment and desire in the Son of man. This is the surprise waiting on the Greek, that the soul of all the philosophies will be found in Christ; and this the surprise to the Jew, that the substance of his religion will be found in crucifixion. The original of the theocracy of Moses and the republic of Plato is the Church founded on death and divinity. Jerusalem cannot be the metropolis of the new religion; it has no centre, its centres are everywhere. Neither time nor space can bound it; no nationality can claim it. If Christ is to negotiate with the spirit of Hebraism, this postponement and provincialism must be the immediate concession. A negotiation will introduce complications and confusion. But the condition of the Hebrew Church makes even negotiation impossible. The system is unworkable.

The Hebrew Church is exhausted, and in the last stage

of exhaustion. The very passion of the nation is perverted. *Religion* has become a dramatic representation; prayers the motion of a machine exhibited in the street; sacrifices the sorceries of an official caste. *Morality* was reduced to frivolous rules and vexatious details. One school of theology contended that an egg laid on a festival day may be eaten, another as gravely that it cannot be eaten. You may walk so many yards on the Sabbath day, and not an inch more. *Literature* had become an intellectual fatuity. A whole treatise exists on the way of killing a fowl, and another on the washing of hands. It was discovered that there were 248 commands and 365 prohibitions in Mosaism. The resources of the dialectic faculty were spent in drawing inferences from the commands which became more commands. Inferences were drawn from the prohibitions which became more prohibitions. Then two or three commands were united and became another command, and two or three prohibitions were united and became a new prohibition. And so went on these literary permutations, while the application of them to every trivial situation was seriously discussed. It was seriously asserted that heaven and earth could not last but for circumcision, that the whole moral law was summed up in circumcision, that angels hate an uncircumcised person. Ten folio volumes of this ethical dilettantism is the sacred literature and verbiage of the age. *Piety* has become an ominous egotism, when goodness was produced without a root within, and a righteousness without motive; as Ewald says of the Pharisees, that "they made piety into a sort of art or trade,"¹ as the Sadducees are known to have said of the Pharisee, that if he could he would wash the sun. *Thought* had become a shallow cynicism. Idealism was lost. The ideal priest is not seen in the actual priest; the ideal kingdom not in the actual polity; the ideal prophet not in the

¹ *History of Israel*, vol. v., p. 366.

actual scribe. It has not been noticed that it is this fatal absence of idealism which the Johannine life of Christ articulates. Christ is there presented as discharging electricities of idealism into the cancerous materialism of Jerusalem and its slumberous afternoon atmosphere, startling and irritating and for a period galvanising into a fitful life the Jerusalem Jews, whom John calls "the Jews." "How can a man enter a second time into his mother's womb, and be born?" is the dazed answer to the idealism of water as the plasma of a birth. "How can this Man give us His flesh to eat?" is the stupid query to the idealism of bread. "Whither will He go? will He kill Himself?" is the only idea which materialism can suggest. Electricity is an analytic force in nature; a current passed into water, and the water is reduced into its primordials of oxygen and hydrogen. Christ is represented all through John's gospel as sifting the material from the spiritual, transfiguring the earthly and the natural, showing the idealities which lie behind water and bread and light and body and death. He finds the nation mentally too fatigued for His originalities, spiritually too diseased for His idealities. A consumptivity had set in which must run its fatal course. Carlyle described a decadence in his day, with the stormy exaggeration innate in him, not true of our time, but applicable to this insane and insanitary period of Hebraism: "So dark and abstruse, without lamp or authentic finger-post, is the course of pious genius towards the eternal kingdoms grown. No fixed highway more; the old spiritual highways and recognised paths to the Eternal, now all torn up and flung in heaps, submerged in unutterable boiling mud oceans of hypocrisy and unbelievability, of brutal living Atheism, and damnable dead putrescent Cant: surely a tragic pilgrimage for all mortals; Darkness and the mere shadow of Death, enveloping all things from pole to pole, and in the raging gulf-currents,

offering us will-o'-the-wisps for loadstars,—intimating that there are no stars, nor ever were, except certain old-Jew ones, which have now gone out.”¹

Religion in the hands of the priests had become a mechanism, law in the hands of the scribes a scrupulousness, morality in the hands of the Pharisees a pride, philosophy in the hands of the Sadducees a dull scepticism and a political shift. The priests were magicians, the scribes pedants, the Pharisees moralists without a morality, the Sadducees self-seeking politicians. The Jews of Jerusalem were a mixture of all this in various proportions. An unreason possessed the people; a disreason, a diseased reason, the ruling magnates. The old genius for holiness has become a genius of sorcery and sophism. Christ satirized the priest in His story of the good Samaritan, and the Pharisee in His story of the praying publican and Pharisee. When Jerusalem was not redeemable, He threw the blame of her fall and fate upon the ruling caste, with mingled invective and indignation.

W. W. PEYTON.

(To be concluded.)

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING ON THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT OF SIN.

VII. MODERN OPINIONS.

In the former papers of this series I have endeavoured to show that the writers of the New Testament agree to teach that utter ruin awaits those who reject the salvation offered by Christ, that we have from the pen of St. Paul words which he could not have written had he not believed that in some cases this ruin will be final, and that

¹ *Life of John Sterling*, p. 85. People's edition.

we have similar language in the recorded words of Christ. On the other hand, although the purpose of salvation is again and again said to embrace all mankind, we have not found throughout the New Testament any clear statement that this purpose of mercy will in all cases be accomplished. Nor have we found any statement asserting or implying that the unsaved will ultimately sink into unconsciousness.

With these results of our study of the New Testament we will now compare the teaching of several conspicuous and representative modern writers. I shall refer to Dr. Cox's *Salvator Mundi* and *Larger Hope*; to Archdeacon Farrar's *Eternal Hope* and *Mercy and Judgment*; to Mr. White's *Life in Christ*; to Prebendary Row on *Future Retribution*; to Dr. Clemance on *Future Punishment*; and to a recent work by Mr. Fife on *The Hereafter*.

Dr. Cox protests against certain popular opinions which he states as follows :

"These dogmas, which happily are losing force daily, and daily moving through a lessening circle, are,—that there is no probation beyond the grave; that when men leave this world their fate is fixed beyond all hope of change; that if, when they die, they have not repented of their sins, so far from finding any place of repentance open to them in the life to come, they will be condemned to an eternal torment, or, at least, to a destructive torment which will annihilate them."¹

The positive teaching which Dr. Cox would put in place of the above is fairly represented by another extract :

"Meanwhile, the purpose of God standeth sure. It is His will, His good pleasure, that all men should be saved by being led, through whatever correction and training may be necessary for that end, to a full and hearty recognition of the truth; which truth will be testified to them in its appropriate seasons, and by appropriate methods, in the ages to come, if it has not been brought home to them here: so apparently and so forcibly testified that at last they will no longer be able to withstand it, but will heartily betake themselves to the Father against whom they have sinned, and submit themselves to His righteous will through the Mediator, the Man Christ Jesus."²

¹ *Salvator Mundi*, p. 23.

² *Ibid*, p. 189.

Still more plainly :

"While our brethren hold the redemption of Christ to extend only to the life that now is, and to take effect only on some men, we maintain, on the contrary, that it extends to the life to come, and must take effect on all men at the last."¹

In other words, the writer expects the ultimate salvation of all men.

In support of this expectation Dr. Cox appeals to the Bible, with the limitation that "he who has drawn a conclusion from Scripture which reason and conscience imperatively condemn, should need no other proof that he has misinterpreted the Word of God."² In his appeal to the Bible, Dr. Cox excludes as not decisive the Old Testament, because written in the twilight of an earlier covenant; and the Book of Revelation and the parabolic language of the Gospels, on account of the difficulty involved in the interpretation of figurative modes of speech. But he points out, not unfairly, that these excluded parts of Holy Scripture contain passages, *e.g.* Luke xiii. 21, xv. 4, which seem to support his main contention. The great need for caution in the interpretation of figurative language I have already admitted. And it will be noticed that in the foregoing exposition I have relied upon it only so far as it confirms the plain language of other parts of the New Testament.

In proof that all men will at last be saved, Dr. Cox appeals to the many passages, discussed in my second paper, which assert that God's purpose of salvation embraces all men. This argument assumes that all God's purposes will eventually be accomplished in all men. And this assumption I cannot accept. Certainly I cannot make it a basis of further argument. For all around me to-day I see God's will resisted by His creatures. And the creation

¹ *Larger Hope*, p. 11.

² *Salvator Mundi*, p. 24.

of creatures capable of resisting even for a moment the will of the Creator is to me a mystery so profound that I cannot affix limits to the extent to which the Creator will permit that resistance to go. It is to me quite conceivable that God, after committing to man the awful prerogative of choosing his own path, should make the final destiny of each man dependent on his right use of that choice. The argument before us implies that this final decision has been withheld from man. Of this I see no proof.

In support of his expectation that all men will be saved, Dr. Cox quotes Acts iii. 25, 26, "In turning away every one of you from his iniquities." But Meyer's exposition is certainly allowable, and seems to me better: "When each one of you turns away from your iniquities." He also quotes Acts iii. 21: "Whom heaven must needs receive until the times of the restoration of all things." This last phrase at once recalls Matthew xvii. 11: "Elijah cometh, and will restore all things." Certainly this restoration is not the salvation of all men. Moreover in the former passage St. Peter teaches that the Second Coming of Christ will not be "till the times of the restoration of all things." Now the entire New Testament teaches that Christ at His Coming will pronounce on some men a tremendous condemnation. Consequently, the universal restoration which will synchronize with that awful condemnation cannot be a salvation of all men. Easier far is it to suppose that the restoration of all things in Acts iii. 19 refers to the New Heaven and Earth described in Revelation xxi. 1, and especially to verse 5: "Behold, I make all things new." And we have already seen that across that bright vision falls the deep shadow of those who are excluded from its glory. The other passages quoted as asserting or suggesting the ultimate salvation of all men are discussed in my second paper.

Dr. Cox further supports his general contention by asserting that "the punishment of the unrighteous is at once

retributive and remedial.”¹ I understand him to mean that all punishment of sin is designed to save the sinner. And the tenor of his book implies that in all cases the design will be accomplished. That this is the design of the punishment to be inflicted in the great day, he endeavours to prove by appealing to the significance of the Greek word *κόλασις* in Matthew xxv. 46, “These shall go away into eternal punishment.” That this appeal is unsafe, I have in my fifth paper² endeavoured to show.

We now ask, How does Dr. Cox deal with the passages which seem to assert or imply the ultimate ruin of the unrepentant? The most decisive of these passages he passes over in total silence. Of those which assert that destruction or something equivalent to it is the *end* of sinners, he makes no mention. We have no exposition of Philippians iii. 19, “whose end is destruction;” of 2 Corinthians xi. 15, “whose end shall be according to their works;” of Hebrews vi. 8, “whose end is to be burned;” of 1 Peter iv. 17, “what will be the end of those who disobey the Gospel?” Nor have we any reference to the solemn words of Christ recorded in Matthew xxvi. 24, Mark xiv. 21, “good were it if that man had not been born.” Dr. Cox calls attention³ to the purifying effect of fire. But he has not noticed that those cast into the fire on the day of judgment are never described as metals which are refined by fire, but always⁴ as vegetable matter, which is never purified, but is always utterly and finally destroyed, by fire.

On the other hand, Dr. Cox discusses at length the words *damnation*, *hell*, *eternal*, and shows that they have not the meanings sometimes attached to them. The word *damnation*, as shedding no light on the matter before us, I have not found needful to discuss. For the word *hell*, the Revised Version has substituted *Hades* and *Gehenna*. The

¹ *Salvator Mundi*, p. 205.

² On p. 212 of this volume.

³ *Salvator Mundi*, p. 133.

⁴ See pp. 66, 67 of this volume.

latter of these words I have discussed on p. 208 of this volume. The word *eternal* I have discussed in my first paper. I agree with Dr. Cox that it is by no means equivalent to *endless*. But I cannot agree that it denotes something pertaining to the Christian age or any other definite age. It denotes always long duration, a duration reaching backwards or forwards to the speaker's mental horizon.

The volume entitled *Salvator Mundi* opens with a quotation of our Lord's words recorded in Matthew xi. 20-24: "If the mighty works done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they had long ago repented in sackcloth and ashes." Dr. Cox points out, fairly, that this implies that influences tending to repentance had been brought to bear on Capernaum which had not been brought to bear on those earlier cities; and argues that the men of Tyre cannot be lost simply because God withheld from them advantages given to Capernaum. In this I heartily agree. But the writer goes on to infer¹ that there must be for the cities of the Plain a probation beyond the grave. This inference I cannot admit. We have no right to say that, if there be no probation after death, all the inhabitants of Tyre or even of Capernaum will be condemned in the great day. They who have heard, clearly and fully, the Gospel of Christ have their probation therein. And, for those who deliberately reject the Gospel, the New Testament holds out no hope. But they who have never heard the good news of salvation through Christ, and they to whom it has been imperfectly presented, and they whose circumstances made reception of the Gospel specially difficult, will be judged on other grounds. There is a light which enlightens every man. And each will in the great day be approved or condemned according to his treatment of that universal light. They who have heard the Gospel will, if they follow that light, be thus led to Christ, and to eternal life. They

¹ On p. 17.

who have not heard it, but have turned, perhaps partially and imperfectly, towards the light they saw dimly from afar will, we may confidently believe, attain by another route to the same eternal rest. This seems to me to be indicated in Romans ii. 26, 27. For, that "the uncircumcision will be reckoned for circumcision," and will judge some of the circumcised, can only mean that some far off Gentiles, through their obedience to the law written on the hearts of all men, will enter into the rest awaiting the people of God. Christ has other sheep who are not of this fold. But this by no means implies a probation beyond the grave. For even the most unfavourable circumstances in life afford a test of character. Every man has day by day an alternative of choosing the better or the worse. And the better or worse is to him right or wrong. Moreover, of a probation beyond the grave, we have throughout the Bible no reliable indication.

The real error is the belief, not yet extinct, that none will be saved except those who have passed through a great spiritual crisis, and who rejoice in the conscious favour of God. This belief has no ground in Holy Scripture. Both Christ and His Apostles leave open a door of hope that many who on earth have not confidently rejoiced in God will yet be judged worthy to enter into His eternal joy.

In his *Larger Hope*, Dr. Cox brings as an argument for the ultimate salvation of all men the fact that the ancient prophecies seemed to announce temporal dominion for Israel; and from this infers, not unfairly, that the truth sometimes lies, not on the surface, but beneath the surface of Holy Scripture. He thus endeavours to weaken the force of the passages which assert, or seem to imply, the ultimate destruction of the wicked. This reminder proves that the meaning which lies on the surface is not always the correct one. But it does nothing to prove that a meaning which lies on the surface is necessarily or probably false,

or that a meaning which does not lie on the surface is probably true. This "New Argument" is merely an appropriate warning against hasty and confident generalizations from the words of Holy Scripture.

This warning is followed by an interesting "New Testament Illustration." In 1 Corinthians v. 3-5 St. Paul pronounces on an immoral Church-member an extreme, and apparently final, sentence. The guilty one was to be "handed over to Satan for destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord." But, as we learn from 2 Corinthians ii. 5-8, he was afterwards forgiven and restored. From this Dr. Cox infers that there may be ultimate pardon for some against whom has been passed what seems to be a final sentence.

This illustration proves that underneath the judgments of God there may be an unexpected reserve of mercy. And this proof I gladly welcome. But, like the foregoing argument, this illustration is only a warning against confident assertion touching God's treatment of the unsaved. It does very little to support Dr. Cox's main assertion. In St. Paul's condemnation there is express mention of ultimate mercy for the condemned. But for those condemned in the great day we have throughout the New Testament no ray of hope.

In the preface (pp. xv-xxi) to his *Eternal Hope* Archdeacon Farrar refuses, somewhat reluctantly, to assert that all men will be saved, and rejects also "the theory of Conditional Immortality" and "the Roman doctrine of Purgatory." And he protests against "the common, the popular view in our own Church." This popular view he states on p. 17 of his *Mercy and Judgment*, specifying four points:

"1. That the fire of 'Hell' is material, and that its agonies are physical agonies.

2. That the doom of 'everlasting damnation' is incurred by the vast majority of mankind.

3. That this doom is passed irreversibly at death on all who die in a state of sin.

4. That the duration of these material torments is necessarily endless for all who incur them."

Against the first two of these four statements I join heartily in the Archdeacon's protest. We have already seen that in the most conspicuous passages in the New Testament the word *fire* is certainly metaphorical. The only passage which, so far as I remember, speaks of the relative proportion of saved and lost is Matthew vii. 13, 14: "Many are they who go in thereat: . . . few that find it." And this speaks only of those who in Christ's day were already in the way of life, not of those who will ultimately be saved. It is a very unsafe foundation for a general statement touching the proportionate final doom of men.

The third assertion to which Dr. Farrar objects, I am not prepared to endorse. For he explains "a state of sin" to be "a state in which there have been no visible fruits of repentance." That all such will be lost, I am by no means ready to assert. He refers appropriately to boys and others not manifestly pious, and cut off suddenly by death. To discuss the fate of such persons is altogether beyond us. The Gospel was given, not to enable us to pronounce sentence on our neighbours, but to show us the path of life. On the other hand, it is very unsafe to make their case, about which we know so little, a basis of argument. It is quite conceivable that to them the Righteous Judge may give a just award apart from any probation beyond the grave.

The fourth opinion again mentions the "material torments" which I have already disavowed as not justified by Holy Scripture. Instead of the phrase, "torments necessarily endless," I greatly prefer the words of St. Paul, "whose end is destruction."

In other words, each of the statements against which the Archdeacon protests seems to me to go beyond the teaching of Holy Scripture. Consequently, much of his protest and argument does not touch the findings of these papers.

Dr. Farrar's own opinions are thus stated on p. 178 of his *Mercy and Wrath* :

"1. I cannot but fear, from one or two passages of Scripture, and from the general teaching of the Church, and from certain facts of human experience, that some souls may be ultimately lost;—that they will not be admitted into the Vision and the Sabbath of God.

2. I trust that by God's mercy, and through Christ's redemption, the majority of mankind will be ultimately saved.

3. Yet, since they die unfit for heaven—since they die in a state of imperfect grace—I believe that in some way or other, before the final judgment, God's mercy may reach them, and the benefits of Christ's atonement be extended to them beyond the grave."

The intermediate state is to me a mystery so profound that I can form no opinion about what will take place between death and judgment. But I must again protest against the assumption or suggestion that salvation of some who die without the conscious favour of God necessarily involves a probation beyond the grave. It seems to me that to every one who has ordinary intelligence and comes to years of maturity life presents a fair test of character, and therefore an adequate probation. But the result of that probation is often not visible on earth.

On pp. 410–480 Dr. Farrar discusses the teaching of the New Testament on the Future Punishment of Sin. But for the more part his exposition is an attempt to show that it does not support the four opinions quoted above. Consequently, in large part, his arguments do not touch the results attained in these papers. In other cases, I think that the discussion in my earlier papers will show that Dr. Farrar's expositions are inadequate. As an example I may quote his long exposition of Matthew xxvi. 24, "Good were it for that man if he had not been born." My previous

exposition of this and other passages, which was written in view of what the Archdeacon has said, renders further discussion of them needless.

Dr. Farrar does not share the complete confidence with which Dr. Cox expects the ultimate salvation of all men. On the other hand, both writers agree to expect a probation beyond the grave, either for all the unsaved or for those whose spiritual opportunities on earth have been small. But it seems to me that they have done little or nothing to prove that these expectations were shared by the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, I heartily agree with their protest against many popular accretions which have gathered round the teaching of the Bible on this momentous subject. Moreover, in his later volume Dr. Farrar has gathered together a mass of valuable information about the opinions held by various writers on the Future Punishment of Sin.

In his well-known and able work, *Life in Christ*, Mr. White endeavours to prove that the Bible teaches expressly that the end of the wicked will be final cessation of consciousness, an endless sleep, preceded by actual suffering proportionate to the guilt of each. He thus differs from the two writers mentioned above, both in his opinion about the Future Punishment of Sin, and in his confident appeal to Holy Scripture.

In support of his main contention Mr. White appeals to the teaching of Christ, so abundantly recorded in the Fourth Gospel, that God gave His Son to die in order that they who believe in Him may not perish, or be destroyed, but may have eternal life. From this he rightly infers that they who reject the salvation brought by Christ and received by faith will be excluded from eternal life and be destroyed. These terms he interprets to mean extinction of consciousness. His entire argument thus turns on the meaning of the two Greek words rendered *destruction* and *life*.

Mr. White asserts strongly, *e.g.* on pp. 356-375, that we are bound to give to these words their plain and ordinary meaning. I notice in passing that it is very unsafe to accept, without careful investigation, any significance as the plain meaning of the words of an ancient language. For it is very difficult to avoid reading into them a meaning derived unconsciously from the modern use of their English equivalents in the circles in which we move. The only safe method of determining the meaning of an ancient word is to study its use in the literary remains of its native language. This, for the word *destruction*, I endeavoured to do in our first paper. We there found the word used in many passages in which it could not have the sense of extinction. But, everywhere, it conveyed the sense of utter and hopeless ruin. This we accepted as the plain meaning of the word in question.

The only proof, so far as I can see, adduced by Mr. White for the sense he wishes to give to the Greek word rendered *destroy* is its use in several interesting passages quoted by him from the *Phædo* of Plato, and referring undoubtedly to the extinction of the soul. He then argues that the same word cannot mean both extinction and endless misery.

The word never means either the one or the other, but, as I have endeavoured to show, utter and hopeless ruin. At the same time, both extinction and endless misery are forms of ruin, and may be so described. But, if so, the peculiar form of ruin must be otherwise specified. This Plato does in the passages quoted in the volume before us. He shows clearly in the first quotation what sort of ruin he has in mind. "They fear that when the soul leaves the body her place may be nowhere, and that on the very day of death she may be destroyed and perish."¹ To guard against misunderstanding, he says in the second quotation :

¹ *Life in Christ*, p. 362.

"Herself (the soul) be destroyed and come to an end." So in the third, "that the soul . . . is blown away and perishes." This apparent repetition proves that to Plato the word rendered *destroy* or *perish* was not in itself sufficient to convey the idea of extinction, but needed to be supplemented by other less ambiguous terms. In the passages from various Greek authors of various ages quoted in my first paper the context makes equally clear that the destruction referred to was not extinction, but only the loss of all that gave worth to existence. These passages Mr. White has not discussed.

Mr. White's only other argument, or rather another form of the same argument, is that life beyond the grave is in the Fourth Gospel and elsewhere made contingent on faith. This argument implies that the absence of life is the absence of existence or at least of permanent existence. And of this Mr. White gives no proof. It is useless to say that existence is an essential element of the idea of life. For the absence of a whole by no means implies absence of each of its essential elements. It implies merely the absence of one of them. If, as I have endeavoured to show, life beyond the grave includes both conscious existence and blessedness, the loss of blessedness is loss of life, even though the unblessed one continues consciously to exist.

Thus fails, in my view, Mr. White's entire argument. Throughout his large and in some respects interesting volume I can find no proof except that contained in "the plain meaning" of two Greek words. And, to me, this meaning is disproved by the use of these words in classical Greek and in the Greek Bible.

It is needless to discuss Mr. White's chapter on "The Immortality of the Soul." For I have already in my third paper disavowed that phrase as ambiguous and as unscriptural. Nor apart from this phrase do I find in

the Bible any teaching about the nature of the soul which sheds clear light on the Future Punishment of Sin.

The strongest point, as it seems to me, of Mr. White's volume is its protest against the exaggeration and distortion of the teaching of the Bible not unfrequently found in popular theology, and especially in some popular sermons. On behalf of such exaggerations I have nothing to say. These papers are not written in defence of modern popular theology. But I think that the exaggerations are somewhat exaggerated by Mr. White. And the present generation has witnessed a great improvement in this matter. To this we may hope that Mr. White's volume has contributed. On the other hand, I am compelled to believe that, while protesting against popular misrepresentation, Mr. White has read into the words of Holy Scripture a sense quite alien from the thoughts of the Sacred Writers.

The foregoing is a very imperfect account of Mr. White's interesting volume. He endeavours to show that man was not at his creation endowed with endless conscious persistence, but that this was made contingent on his obedience; and that, after man had sinned, Christ died in order to give back to man the endless permanence which his sin had forfeited. With this theory I have dealt only so far as it bears on the Future Punishment of Sin. In my next and last paper I shall have more to say about the Natural Immortality of Man.

Like the works noticed above, Prebendary Row's book is a protest against popular theories of *Future Retribution*. These theories, every one of which I heartily disown, he parades at wearisome length at the beginning of his work; and illustrates them by unfortunate quotations from a popular modern preacher and from a devout Roman Catholic priest. So attractive to Dr. Row are these theories, that they reappear in almost the same dress, and occupy a later chapter of the same volume; and through-

out the work they are ever in view. Now it is quite right to overturn error. But this can be done effectively only by first building up positive truth. Much better would it have been if our author had begun his work by expounding the teaching of Holy Scripture, and had then gone on, from this secure platform, to overturn prevalent error.

In the main, Prebendary Row accepts Mr. White's theory of the ultimate annihilation of the wicked, and maintains it by the arguments already discussed. To these he adds nothing. He argues "that it is impossible that such words as *ὄλεθρος*, and others of a kindred meaning, which are fairly represented in English by the word 'destruction,' and others of similar signification, could have been understood by the members of those Churches as meaning an endless existence in never-ending punishment; and that if it had been the writers' intention to express such an idea, they could hardly have chosen a more unsuitable word in the Greek language to denote it."¹ With all this I agree; and indeed can go further in the same direction. To the early Christians the words rendered "destruction" could not mean either "endless existence in never-ending punishment" or annihilation, but only utter and hopeless ruin.

In a chapter entitled, "Does Human Probation Terminate at Death?" Dr. Row endeavours to show, by arguments similar to those of Cox and Farrar, that we have reason to expect that for those who have had few religious advantages on earth there will be a probation beyond the grave. And he presses strongly the argument that, without any special fault of their own, many die in a state utterly unfit for immediate access to God, and therefore need a further purifying process. But this by no means involves a fresh probation. For another probation would make a man's ultimate destiny contingent on his action after death, whereas it is quite conceivable that there may be beyond

¹ *Future Retribution*, p. xxiii.

the grave a spiritual development in which each will make progress only in the direction chosen on earth. Certainly, the manifest need of development is a very unsafe ground of hope that they who on earth have chosen the bad and refused the good will have another opportunity of reversing or persisting in their bad choice. Moreover, the conditions of the unseen world are to us so utterly unknown that speculation is useless. Sufficient for us is the Gospel promise of eternal life for all who accept it.

Dr. Row rejects in strong terms the teaching advocated by Dr. Cox. He writes :

"I therefore cannot think the mode of interpretation of these terms which is adopted by the Universalist to be less non-natural than that which assigns to them the above meaning. Surely it is a mode of dealing with language which no one would adopt, unless compelled by the exigences of a theory."¹

His own opinion is expressed in the following paragraph :

"It is a blessed truth, affirmed by the Christian revelation, that there is a time coming in the future when God will have reconciled all things unto Himself; and when evil will cease to exist in the universe which He has created. There are only two ways in which this can be effected—either by the conversion of evil beings, or by causing them to cease to exist. The Universalist affirms that it is in accordance with the Divine character that the mode in which this will be effected will be by their ultimate conversion. This the language of the New Testament, taken in its obvious meaning, denies. It remains, therefore, that the second alternative is the only possible one; that evil beings will be annihilated, either by the exertion of God's almighty power, or because He has so constituted the moral universe that, under His providential government, the disease of evil will ultimately destroy man's spiritual and moral being, just as incurable physical disease destroys his bodily life."

This argument I commend to those who teach that all men will eventually be saved. It does not seem to me to have received from them the attention it deserves. Certainly, it is another way of explaining some of the

¹ Page 387.

passages on which they rely. But I have already, in my second paper, endeavoured to show that it rests on a very insecure basis; *viz.* the assumption that God's universal purpose of salvation will be accomplished in each individual embraced by that purpose. Of this we have no proof.

The teaching of Mr. White has found an able advocate on the Continent in Dr. Petavel, Lecturer at the University of Geneva, who has written several pamphlets on the subject, especially three essays, of which an English translation has been published in America, with a preface by Mr. White. Dr. Petavel labours to prove that man is not naturally immortal, and that death is the sinner's doom. But he has not cleared away the ambiguity which gathers round the words *immortal* and *death*; and he adduces no proofs of his main thesis, namely, that the wicked will be ultimately annihilated, except those already discussed.

In my next paper I shall deal with a small but very able work by Dr. Clemance, and with a most comprehensive and useful volume by Mr. Fyfe; and shall then conclude this series of papers by a summary of the results attained.

JOSEPH AGAR BERT.

BREVIA.

"*Imago Christi.*"¹—In accordance with Gibbon's useful rule I set down, before opening this book, what I expected to derive from it; and on closing it I compared my expectations with the result. "What was the actual aspect of Jesus? What was His manner? How does His personal conduct stand in relation to the ethics of modern life? What is the connexion between the moral nature of Christ and His redemptive work?" These were the questions with which the reading began, and on each of these points much light had been shed before it was finished.

¹ *Imago Christi.* By Rev. James Stalker, M.A., D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

Here is a book of the times, a book which could only have been produced at this stage of theological and social development; yet here is a book which possibly only Dr. Stalker could have written. There are many who have Dr. Stalker's learning—though even here it is to be feared that only a few have combined, as he has done, those apparently remote fields of study, the best Puritan literature and modern German theology—but few have the exquisite skill to make learning unobtrusive, and to render the products of much study a delight to the heart, as well as a possession for the mind. There may be many living writers and preachers who have Dr. Stalker's freshness and originality in dealing with the New Testament literature; but there are few, if any, who, conscious of this power, employ it in humble subordination to a devout and spiritual purpose, and with reverent docility to scholars and thinkers who have gone before them.

Here is a man who reads widely, and yet continues to think, who knows books well, but Christ better. And yet, if it is not impertinent to say so, this is a book full of good things, rather than a good book. It is a little overridden by its method, and suggests its own weaknesses by the way in which it avows its purpose. The avowed object is to sketch the person and the conduct of Jesus as an example for our imitation, because, according to Porphyry's derivation, *imago* is really *imitago*. In pursuit of this object the author examines with close observation and discriminating delicacy all "the wealth that is packed within the narrow circumference of the four gospels." The idea, he tells us, was suggested by four discourses in Schleiermacher's *Predigten*, on Christ, as a Teacher, as a Miracle-worker, in Social life, and Among His disciples. He has followed out in detail Bengel's pregnant hint: "Christus multum et vultu et nutu docuit." He has used the evangelic narrative in the same spirit and with the same striking results as Delitzsch used it in the incomparable monograph, *Ein Tag in Capernaum*. He has received in a marked degree what he beautifully calls the spiritual *charisma* of the historic spirit; and every chapter seems to give us a new glimpse into how Jesus actually appeared to His contemporaries, or into that inner life which was revealed by His manner and speech.

But the wish to present Christ as an example in every phase of human life has proved a snare; in parts the reader feels that the inferences are traced from insufficient facts, or that the moral

drawn is a little too fine-spun. The spirit of criticism is uncomfortably aroused, and prevents that perfect attitude of appreciation and receptiveness in which the lessons of these beautiful studies are most likely to be assimilated. Would it not be better, for instance, to admit that we have not enough information about the home life of Christ to make it an obvious and profitable example to us; and that the one incident of the childhood which is recorded for us, namely, the delay in the temple, is an instance of how ordinary children ought not to act, because ordinary children are not the Messiah, or the Sent of God? Or again, can it be fairly said that the conduct of Jesus affords us a serviceable example for our own conduct as citizens? Does He not rather evade such an implication by scrupulously keeping free from the political life of His time? And is not the explanation of His conduct to be found in this, that He Himself was Christ a King, who had come to bear witness to the truth, a mission which He would have frustrated if He had given us an example of how a good citizen should act when his country is in a condition of political servitude? If He had taken that part in the public life of His day which it is our duty, as His followers, to take in the public life of our own day, He could not have accomplished the work on which our discipleship to Him is founded.

Again, the weakness of this attempt to derive a direct example from the life of Christ for all spheres and conditions of modern activity appears in the chapter on "Christ as a Teacher." The uniqueness of Christ, "sent by the Father" to "send" others to witness for Him, makes His example almost inapplicable to ordinary Christians; and consequently Dr. Stalker is impelled to almost overshadow the example given in Christ's relations with His disciples by a most instructive account of Tholuck's influence on his students. And in an earlier chapter on Friendship, where there is a striking and characteristic defence of the place which that beautiful relation holds in Christianity, one cannot help feeling that our author is a little embarrassed by the confusion which his method has introduced, and in the end his ideas of friendship are shaped more by Aristotle's *Ethics* and Cicero's *De Amicitia* than by the example of Him who, though a Friend in a certain sense, was something so infinitely greater, that the relation of friendship is submerged rather than explained. Indeed, there is much in Dr. Stalker's book which by its tenuity suggests the

question whether St. Paul's method of not knowing Christ after the flesh at all, nor even referring to His example except as a sufferer and as a religious force, or the method of the *Imitatio*, which never contemplates the human side of Christ divorced from His unique and Divine existence, will not finally be established as the fullest and most fruitful aspect of the Truth. The department of Christian literature of which *Ecce Homo* is the most brilliant illustration seems to reach a kind of climax in such a work as Dr. Stalker's, and to pass over into something greater than itself. The life portrayed in the four gospels, full as it is of beautiful and touching human traits, is essentially a Divine life, and except so far as a supernatural power is derived by the believer from the Saviour to become a new creature, it is, strictly speaking, not imitable by us at all; while, on the other hand, when that supernatural power is received, the life of Christ in us becomes more important than the life which He lived on earth for us, develops in ways which that earthly life was never intended to enter, and becomes like an organic spiritual growth, ever adapting itself to the changes of the world's evolution.

The lasting power of the *Imitatio*, it seems to me, is derived from this fact, that it is the inward Christ with whom it is dealing all along, and the life lived in the flesh is regarded merely as a more or less fragmentary illustration of that supernatural and eternal life. The inferiority of *Imago Christi* to the *Imitatio* is due to an implicit attempt to present the expanded and spiritually developed Christ-life always under the forms of those few years, sinless and beautiful, wonderful and heart-moving, but still only preparatory, which were "passed beneath the Syrian blue."

With this remark however the ungracious task of criticism ceases, and I pass to a grateful and appreciative acknowledgment of all the good things which are here so richly provided and so delicately served.

Dr. Stalker has in his art something of the pre-Raphaelite spirit. Many of the happiest touches are due to the brooding minuteness of his presentations. It is by a discerning reflection on detail that he is able to bring out the bearing of Christ's relation with the synagogue on our own relations to the Church, and to find in Jesus an authority for the patient endurance of tedious sermons, and for the union in Church fellowship and public worship which is to an increasing number of modern minds

so distasteful. It is by the same serviceable faculty that he brings out the Christian duty of Church reform, and leads us to resist the system by which "services are multiplied, new forms are invented, and the memory of God's grace is lost in the achievements of human merit" (p. 79). Again, he finds a new sanction for the weary task of the student in mastering Hebrew and Greek, and for the long labours of the missionary for the acquisition of foreign languages, in the remark that probably Jesus Himself had to learn Hebrew, and, in the absence of any copy of the Scriptures in His own possession, was constrained to acquire His vast knowledge of the Hebrew text, as distinct from the Greek or Aramaic versions, by privileged visits to the synagogue, "perhaps through ingratiating Himself with the keeper, as an enthusiastic musician may do with the organist of a church, in order that he may be permitted to use the instrument" (p. 151). He realizes the long and laborious study of the texts which provided Jesus with an unfailing armoury of quotations, and led him to that familiarity with Moses and Elias which culminated in the revelation of their persons to Him on the mount. There is something quite luminous in Dr. Stalker's way of entering into the hidden movements of Christ's thought, of following His sensations of joy over the workmanlike accomplishment of His task (p. 177), or of shame and torture under the scorn of wicked men (p. 190). And few writers have traced more clearly and beautifully the development which must have taken place in His character by virtue of His human, albeit perfect, nature.

"Simply because he was a man, with a human history and a human development, He had to ascend a stair, so to speak, of obedience and perfection; and although every step was surmounted at its own precise time, and He emerged upon it perfect, yet every new step required a new effort, and, when surmounted, brought Him to a higher stage of perfection, and into a wider circle of obedience" (p. 196).

Following in the steps of Professor Seeley, who discerned the cause of Christ's stooping to write on the ground, when the woman taken in adultery was brought to Him, in a sense of natural shame at the revolting story which was told, Dr. Stalker makes the happy conjecture that the reason why our Lord so frequently forbade the subjects of His gracious cures to make Him known was simply the natural modesty of one who is literally pained by any publicity given to his good deeds; while

a subtle distinction made in the note (p. 312) is a good illustration of our author's balancing psychological method.

Nor is it possible to be too grateful for the insight—the imaginative insight—with which some difficult passages are explained. There is, for instance, a bold conjecture that the *ἐνεβριμῆσατο τῷ πνεύματι* of John xi. 33 describes the indignation with which the Lord of life confronted the bold usurper death; and if the explanation is derived from Dr. Hutchison, and is due to patient study of others rather than to unaided originality, that hardly diminishes our obligations to a writer who has the art of bringing out of his treasury things which others might possess, but could not transform into current coin. There is a certain charm of style, a chastened imagery, and a lucid simplicity, which must always make whatever Dr. Stalker writes readable.

"He earned the name of martyr, and Himself became the leader of the noble army of martyrs, which in a thin line deploys through the centuries."

"There is a mission of social kindness still remaining to be opened up as one of the agencies of Christianity."

"When the dust of business so fills your room that it threatens to choke you, sprinkle it with the water of prayer, and then you can cleanse it out with comfort and expedition."

A man who can write like that is sure to be listened to, and to him the multitude will be indebted even for the thoughts of writers, who may be even more original, but are less felicitous.

It may be asked, To what school of theologians does Dr. Stalker belong—a man who has shaped his thoughts on such dissimilar thinkers as Owen, Goodwin, Bunyan, Baxter, Fuller, and Jeremy Taylor, on the one hand, and Rothe, Martensen, Novalis, Tholuck, and Schleiermacher, on the other—a man who does not disdain the aid even of rationalists like Hausrath? Probably he would prefer to be classed with no school at present; and meanwhile many schools will claim him. The old orthodoxy may put in a plea for him because he holds to plenary inspiration, to eternal punishment, and to the atonement: but it will be a little puzzled to find him venturing to emphasise the assertion of the parable, that the eternal punishment is to be meted out to those who fail in the practical benevolence which the Redeemer demands from men for men (p. 219); it will be alarmed to find him illustrating the method of atonement, and of Christ's becoming sin for us, by the case of a pure member in an impure family

enduring the reproach and shame of the rest (p. 195); and it will be possibly indignant to hear him recognising the "greater works which the Church should do, because the Lord went to the Father," in the triumphs of science and in the achievements of political and social reform (p. 216). But no one can read these pages without arriving at the conclusion that, if this is not orthodoxy, orthodoxy is no longer a living or a tenable position; and we may reasonably hope that a man so spiritually in earnest, a man who has entered so deeply into the mind and the life of our Redeemer, and yet retains so much freshness and independence of thought as Dr. Stalker exhibits in this volume, may be one of God's appointed agents to enlarge the old orthodoxy, and to bring about the longed for reconciliation between the faith that was once delivered to the saints and the knowledge which has more recently been delivered to the thinkers.

R. F. HORTON.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE EXPOSITOR."

DEAR SIR,—The Dean of Peterborough (THE EXPOSITOR, October, p. 253) has inadvertently ascribed to me an interpretation of the noble passage, Genesis i. 2, which I certainly cannot be said to have "recently" adopted. Probably he inferred this from the reference to my article "Cosmogony" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* given by Delitzsch in his *New Commentary on Genesis*. The view there proposed (more than ten years ago) I should now modify; but it is, at any rate, not that which is stated by the Dean. Nor from Delitzsch's note could any reader guess what it was. Moreover, in references to this *Encyclopædia*, ought not the date of the volume always to be given?

Yours faithfully,

T. K. CHEYNE.

OXFORD, Oct. 16th, 1890.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW REFORMATION.

It is sufficiently obvious that neither literally nor figuratively was the last word said on matters theological in either the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It is obvious literally, because of the perennial stream of theological eloquence and literature. It is also pretty generally accepted that the standards and symbols adopted by the Reformers are not the final expression of man's religious thought and feeling. Hence it is not strange that from time to time suggestions are made that the teaching of Luther and Calvin needs to be supplemented or superseded; or that some divine or poet or essayist or novel-writer should undertake to supply this need, and propose to inaugurate a New Reformation. These claims and suggestions should be met in the reverent and earnest spirit of the apostle, who bids us "prove all things." True, the world has known many false Christs, but this will be no sufficient excuse for rejecting the true Messiah.

Without discussing any particular scheme for a New Reformation, it may be useful to consider why and through what influence a new departure is to be looked for; and also to emphasize a few of the special contributions to a fuller understanding of Divine truth which may be found in a renewed study of the Old Testament.

Paul speaks of Christ as "all and in all," and in equiva-

lent terms of God; and one of our own poets also writes, a little less boldly :

“—is He not all but thou, that hast power to feel ‘I am I’?”

Hence all additions to knowledge increase our knowledge of God; whenever the mind of man makes great conquests from the realm of the unknown, we have to ask, How do these new discoveries modify our idea of God? Nearly two thousand years ago there was given to men the life of Jesus of Nazareth, and for centuries men pondered the great problem, What has this life taught us concerning God? Their final, solemn answer, from which the Church has never since swerved, might be expressed in Christ's own words: “He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.” The essential feature of the Reformation was the recovery of the knowledge of Jesus, and the practical Teutonic mind gave the same answer in different terms: faith in Christ meant reconciliation to God. Before we inquire what promise of new truth may lie before us, we must recognise that we have neither a new Christ to proclaim to the world, nor a forgotten Christ to recall to men's memory. It is not likely that any New Reformation can rank with the great spiritual revolutions of the first and sixteenth centuries. And yet its significance must be great. During the last century nature has told man her secrets almost too rapidly for him to receive them. The secrets of forgotten empires, the mysteries of infinite space, and the worlds of infinitesimal life have been laid bare before him. He has learnt how the earth grew, and thinks he has discovered the genealogy of life from the lowest organism up to man. He knows the history of literature, and has found out how to gather from imperfect records a better knowledge of the thoughts of men than they had themselves. He has learnt much practically in steam, electricity, engineering. He has

created new political systems and enunciated great principles of social life. And as regards the individual, man has penetrated into his own mind, and seen the order and method of its working. True, it has not all been gain; the sculpture of Greece, the architecture of the Middle Ages remind us that we have paid no mean price for our achievements. Moreover man in the nineteenth century, overwhelmed with his own intellectual achievements, blinded with excess of light, bewildered by multitudinous voices of science, falters out in weariness and despair that he knows nothing, and calls himself an agnostic.

But success and failure, loss and gain, triumph and despair must have much to teach us about God.

Tennyson says :

"The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains—
Are not these, O Soul, the Vision of Him who reigns ?"

In all our added knowledge of sun, moon, and stars, have we not gained a fuller and clearer vision of God? Origen says: "The works of Divine Providence and the plan of this whole world are, as it were, rays of the nature of God." We have learnt much of "the plan of the whole world"; therefore for us God shines with multiplied and brighter rays. Justin Martyr says: "Whatever things were rightly said amongst men are the property of us Christians." Many things have been rightly said in these latter days of which "we Christians" have not yet taken possession; there is a great inheritance waiting for us, when we have faith and courage enough to claim it.

Connected with these great movements of thought and action, there are minor changes which exercise a most important influence over the *form* of our religious expressions. The force of language varies, continuously and extensively; no word has exactly the same meaning to any two individuals; generations separated by centuries attach

very different meanings to the same words and phrases. This is especially the case with religious phraseology, so that it needs months of patient study to learn what the Nicene Creed or the Westminster Confession meant to the people to whom they were first given. These changes of religious formulæ are connected with the progress of science, by our habit of expressing religious thought in terms of the popular science and philosophy of our day. Hence periods of rapid growth necessitate a re-formation of our theological statements, on account of the direct and indirect effects of progress upon language.

There is a point of view from which the application of these principles to the Old Testament is extremely simple. Science, criticism, and history are invoked to destroy its religious significance ; and it is suggested that, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, the New Reformation will consist in liberating religion from its ideas and phraseology. There is a certain shade of orthodoxy half inclined to accept this position. We have all heard of the Russian traveller, who was driving over the steppes, and found himself pursued by wolves ; to detain them and check their pursuit he detached first one and then another of his team, and while the wolves devoured the horses that were left behind, he was able with the remainder to reach a place of safety. Some imagine that a similar process might have its advantages in the case of the Bible. Timid souls have thought they might reconcile themselves to the loss of the Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes as a sort of ransom for the rest of the Bible. But now it is clear that the critics' appetites will not be satisfied with such trifles, and there are those who fancy that if the Old Testament were abandoned to these voracious wolves, we might be allowed to enjoy the New Testament in peace, at any rate in our lifetime. But the process of sacrificing horses to facilitate an escape soon reaches its limits ; and to sacrifice the Old

Testament to maintain the New is more like taking off one wheel to lighten the cart. It scarcely needs more than a casual glance at Westcott and Hort's text of the New Testament to see that the New is completely saturated with the ideas and phrases of the Old; the more carefully the New Testament is studied, the more fully do we perceive that in both words and thoughts its writers breathe the spiritual atmosphere of the Old Testament and its allied literature. The gospel without the law and the prophets would be like a house without a foundation.

Purely negative criticism is always misleading. There was a misguided king of Judah, who could find no better use for a roll of prophecy than to slice it up with a pen-knife, and throw the pieces in the fire. He is often set forth as a prototype of the modern critic, and the latter is solemnly reminded of the monarch's untimely end: somewhat unfairly, for there is a large constructive element in modern criticism. But the times are difficult for constructive work. It is hard to get earnest attention to serious theological thought; there is little leisure for it; little leisure also for the spiritual experience through which men learn to know God and interpret Him to others.

"'Tis an ill cure

For life's worst ills, to have no time to feel them."

And the same principle extends to all the experiences of life; it is not well "to have no time to feel them."

The tide of scientific discovery still flows apace, the treasure and burden of human knowledge multiply; its religious significance is not likely to be properly estimated till there is some pause or ebb in the tide. We scarcely care to think out what evolution teaches us about God till we know the ultimate form and limits of the doctrine, and how it may be interpreted and modified by subsequent

scientific theories. Thus, while we feel that, as the magi of the first century brought their gold and frankincense and myrrh to the cradle of Christ, so the wise men of the nineteenth sometimes unconsciously are bringing their gifts to His throne; while we look confidently for the appearance of new spiritual forces and the worthy continuance of the apostolic succession of the prophets of God,—we may also recognise that possibly the time of the new departure is not yet, and that one of our duties in the present is to enlarge our knowledge and understanding, and to tighten our grasp of the Divine truth we already possess. Only those who have clearly grasped the large permanent positive element in ancient spiritual teaching are likely to lead us into fuller light. Reformations do not come from the Sadducees.

Let us therefore turn to a few specimens of great truths which find their *chief* expression in the Old Testament, and will necessarily be important factors in any restatement of Christian truth. It is not, of course, possible to avoid the influence of modern ways of thinking; it is not desirable. We may say of the Bible, turning the phrase of an old hymn against its meaning, after the manner of some modern hymnals,—

“It gives a light to every age,
And borrows light from—*all*.”

And yet these will be the same truths that have age after age been most powerful factors in religious thought. Forms and formulæ have come and gone in quick succession, but the underlying substance of truth has remained.

Incidentally the Old Testament renders us great service as a battleground of controversy. All the difficulties—uncertainty of text, canon, versions, date, authorship, inspiration, historical accuracy—exist alike in the Old and New Testaments. Many of these uncertainties were

known and recognised by the apostles, and yet they found no difficulty in making free and full use of the Old Testament. A study of their attitude towards their Scriptures might greatly help us; and Old Testament controversy affords us opportunities of establishing principles which will be most important in discussing the New.

Again, the Old Testament is the most conspicuous monument of the permanence of spiritual truth and experience. The New Testament is the account of an experiment in its early stages; the Old Testament traces religious ideas through centuries; the New Testament shows us the elastic power and life of the same truths clothing themselves with new energy, and going forward with fresh impetus. The history of Christianity is largely occupied with the influence of the truths taught by prophet and psalmist. We ourselves find help and comfort in the stories of patriarchs and kings, in the inspired utterances which sustained and encouraged the Israelite nearly 3,000 years ago.

The practical value of these facts may be shown by a homely illustration. Some time ago *Punch*, I think, drew for us a picture like this. John Bull was starving in the midst of plenty; he is seated at a well-furnished breakfast table, but he reads that there is alum in the bread, chalk in the milk, chicory in the coffee, turnips in the marmalade, and that his Wiltshire bacon comes from America. For a moment he thinks he must await the result of the latest scientific analysis before he begins breakfast. This is an apt picture of the state of mind of some people to-day: there never was such a wealth of spiritual food, and yet there is scarcely a book or a preacher unsuspect of heresy. Even as to the Bible, they hear that the law of Moses was written by Ezra, and other unsettling statements; and are also inclined to wait for the results of analysis. But John Bull, in his difficulty, would reflect that he had often break-

fasted with a considerable balance of advantage on similar fare to that before him. While anxious to do all that analysis could teach him to improve his diet, he might still manage to breakfast off his old food. When we remember how long the old spiritual food has fed the lives of the saints, we may be sure it still has a practical use for us.

Calvin says: "We must found the authority of the Scriptures on the inner witness of the Holy Spirit. . . . They begin truly to touch us when they are sealed in our hearts by the Holy Spirit. Being then illuminated by His power, we believe, not on our own judgment, nor on the judgment of others, that the Scriptures are from God. . . . I say nothing but that which every believer experiences in himself." We are prepared to receive "the inner witness of the Holy Spirit" by the knowledge that, through thousands of years, the Scriptures have touched and been sealed to countless hearts. Nothing is inspired to the individual except that which touches and moves him; and a man as yet untouched may be led up to this true recognition of inspiration by learning how widely the Scriptures have touched and moved others. The Old Testament and its history form a large and essential part of the testimony to the permanent power of religious ideas.

Again, the fullest and most forcible expression of certain aspects of the personal and spiritual relationship of the individual to God is found in the Old Testament. As a matter of precept and exposition, it would be difficult to say whether psalmist and prophet, or evangelist and apostle set forth this relationship more clearly. But example is more than precept. It is true that the most transcendent example of the life of Divine fellowship is given by the New Testament with a fulness beyond any similar life history in the Old; and, further, that another great spiritual personality, that of Paul, is also more vividly depicted than

any Old Testament saint. But there is a certain limitation and drawback to the New Testament examples of the spiritual life. Practically the necessary emphasis laid on the deity of Christ hinders men from a sympathetic appreciation of His humanity, and lessens the influence of His example. So too the fisherman, the tent-maker, and the tax-gatherer do not think of Peter, Paul, and Matthew as examples to them in their secular calling, but probably see in them the prototypes of some of their acquaintance who have given up fishing and tent-making, and entered a theological college with a view to devoting themselves to the work of the ministry. There is more priestcraft in this view of the New Testament than in all the ritual of the Old. Much may be done to alter this; but for the communion of man with God, as man and not as religious teacher, we need to turn to the Old Testament. There the heroes of sacred story are not merely prophets and priests: they are patriarchs, shepherds, kings, like Abraham, Job, David, and Saul; queens, like Esther; slaves and statesmen, like Joseph and Nehemiah; simple women, like Ruth and Naomi. Divine guidance and grace are sought and given as to the choice of a home or a wife, the birth of children, the gathering and spending of worldly gear, the organization and government of the State, home and foreign politics; all the varied interests of life are depicted as consecrated and inspired. Abraham's life is purely secular, and yet he is the friend of God. He sacrifices as the father of the family and the head of the tribe, by a priesthood which is the prototype of the priesthood of the individual to-day. There is no hint of any religious teaching on his part. His anxieties are for his wife and family at home, for their maintenance in hard times, for his son's marriage. As a man of substance, he has delicate and difficult relations with his nephew Lot, arising out of their common property. In

all this he seeks, and receives, and trusts a Divine help and guidance: "and it was counted unto him for righteousness." Whether as an ideal or as a history, this life of close personal relationship with God underlay and inspired the religious life of Israel and its magnificent development of truth. When the lesson it taught had been obscured by the stress laid on an elaborate system of ritual, when Paul sought to re-establish the doctrine that the true life consisted in the direct relationship of the individual soul to God, he also turned back to the life of Abraham for his one crucial instance. If we seek to emphasize the same truth, to combat the idea that the spiritual life is the special concern of the religious teacher, or has specially to do with acts of worship, apart from practical life, we find our best and most numerous examples in the Old Testament.

Because the Old Testament occupies itself largely with secular persons and pursuits, it is constantly interested in national life, and not only illustrates for us the fellowship of the individual with God, but also the dependence of the nation upon its heavenly King. In the New Testament there are allusions, principles, precepts, dealing with the life of the subject and the citizen; but Christianity began its mission at a time when there was little national life within its reach, and the special circumstances of its origin deprived the apostles of any practical interest in Jewish national aspirations. This isolation saved Christianity from being hampered by local and transient conditions; it served to abstract spiritual ideas, and exhibit them to us in clear outline, much as a map omits mountains that rivers and boundaries may be the more conspicuous. But the comparative silence of the New Testament as to public life has been made the excuse for much shirking of duty; spiritual life and public spirit have been held to be inconsistent, and a daily newspaper has been supposed to unfit its readers for

the study of the Bible. The fullest refutation of this error lies in the fact that the Old Testament is endorsed by the New. Paul can afford to pass over the subject of national righteousness somewhat lightly, because it was clearly and manifestly set forth by Isaiah and Jeremiah. One of the most prominent ideas of the Old Testament is the mutual devotion of Jehovah and His people, involving the consecration of the whole life of the nation, political and social, as well as religious. The sacred books include the civil and criminal law, the practical wisdom, the philosophic speculations of Israel, as well as its more directly religious writings. Similarly the religious leaders, prophets, and priests do not confine themselves to spiritual matters; it is through them, through the spiritually minded of the community, that God influences national politics, and not merely by a mysterious and inscrutable providence, which releases God's servants from any responsibility in such matters. In the New Testament national feeling breathes in Christ's lament over Jerusalem, and in Paul's wish that he might be accursed for his fellow countrymen. Even to-day, when the Jews are a people scattered over the face of the earth, without city or temple, priest or altar, their daily service is instinct with the same national feeling; their prayer is that God may build the temple and establish the throne of David speedily, in their days. They appeal to Him on behalf of His peculiar people, that He, the keeper of Israel, the one nation of God, may preserve the remnant of Israel, who daily proclaim the doctrine of the Divine unity. There is one God and one chosen people.

We are often called upon to consider the narrowness of the special claim of Israel to Divine favour. It has all the defects of a selfish negation. Foreigners might be inclined to class it with the insular exclusiveness of the English. But while we criticise what is negative, let us remember that the positive aspect is absolutely true. Israel's ideas

as to God's relation to the Gentiles were imperfect, but Israel did not in any way over-rate the care of God for her national welfare and righteousness, or her duty to Him as a community.

It was also true in Israel that for many individuals Jehovah was the God of the nation rather than of the individual; it is true, more or less, in every religious community. But in the case of the men who taught most earnestly the Divine mission of the chosen people, Jehovah was emphatically, in their own personal experience, the God of the individual as well as of the State. According to the wisdom of this world, the interests of individuals, of nations, of humanity are antagonistic; but in the higher wisdom it is not so, the individual life is not destroyed by family affection, nor the home by patriotism, nor the nation by the enthusiasm of humanity. Each narrower affection is the basis of the wider feeling, and God is the God alike of the race, the nation, and the individual. The Old Testament shows us side by side intense spiritual life of the individual soul and national devotion to God.

We are hampered and burdened on all sides by cruelty and wrong, which are serenely tolerated because they cannot be brought home to individuals; we urgently need a sense of collective responsibility, a national conscience, a recognition of the fact that the nation will have to answer to God for the individual, and the individual for the nation. A powerful inspiration for this large sense of duty may be found in the Old Testament. The Puritans drank deeply of this spirit, and it has been made a reproach to them; but the Old Testament, not only supplied them with an excuse for narrowness and cruelty, but also gave them an incentive to high-minded patriotism. The ancient prophets drank in the fresh, strong atmosphere of a vigorous national life, and claimed it for God; they left their claim as an example and a stimulus to all true patriots of every

age and country. They recognised too that it was by the remnant, the holy seed, that a nation was to be won for God; convinced and earnest minorities may take fresh courage from the exulting confidence of Hebrew prophets, and believe that the sword of the Spirit in the hands of an elect few is more mighty than the indifference or hostility of the many.

The fulness of the Old Testament treatment of life, its manifold interests, the variety of its subjects and heroes, also suggest to us that there is a certain brightness, certain notes of triumph and exultation, that find their best expression in the Old Testament, and are more likely to be found in the New if we read it in the light of the Old. Buchanan, in one of his poems, speaks of Christ as "that pale rainbow circling Palestine"; the phrase is indeed one that no student of Christ's character should have used, but it very well expresses the impression made by the New Testament apart from the Old. This is partly due to the circumstances of the times, and partly to preoccupation with special aspects of the religious life.

A cloudy sky does not necessarily argue a feeble sun, but yet it makes the day gloomy. The skies were overcast when the Sun of righteousness arose; light of any kind was a marvel, a manifest evidence of His presence; it was not strange that the light was gray. It was a dead world to which He came; the East had been dead for centuries. The Greek kingdom of Syria and the Parthian empire beyond the Euphrates were a poor substitute for the manifold variety and energy of ancient Semitic life. For the Western world generally the empire meant peace, civilization, and commerce, but not life. The peoples had bought peace and order at the price of political liberty and national life, and were not yet sure that they had secured these expensive luxuries. The much lauded age of the Antonines had not yet come, and at the best there is little

inspiration about the names of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero.

When we turn to Christ's own people, the prospect is even more gloomy. Stanley speaks of Antipater as "the man destined to inaugurate for the Jewish nation the last phase of its existence." It seems a kind of historic irony, ghastly and depressing, that placed the sceptre of Israel in these critical years in the hands of a family of Edomite adventurers. There was neither pride, satisfaction, nor comfort for the Jews, either in the Herods or in Pilate, Festus, and Felix, who succeeded them. Moreover the controversies and ambitions of scribes, Sadducees, and Pharisees, the casuistry of the rabbis, and the fanaticism of the Zealots, cannot have contributed much to the cheerfulness of life in the first century A.D. The ever-deepening horror and gloom of the years that preceded the fall of Jerusalem are familiar to all. Ruin in prospect or in realization cast its shadow over the whole period of the New Testament, and the book is the work of Jewish Christians and those in close sympathy with them. Their hearts were heavy with the burden of national calamity; the separation between themselves and the Jews only added to their sorrows; as brave and earnest men, they would feel deeply alienation from their kinsmen in the hour of danger. They themselves lived in the realization of Israel's supreme hope, and it filled them with anguish that Israel itself rejected the Messiah. This constantly recurring thought fills the Epistle to the Romans with infinite pathos; not all the grandeur of the gospel and its universality can comfort Paul for "his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh"; their rejection of Christ is a problem beyond human solution, to be referred to the unfathomable mysteries of Providence; he clings with passionate hope to the ultimate salvation of Israel. And Paul was not the most Judaistic of the Jewish Christians.

In addition to the misfortunes of Israel, the Christians had special troubles of their own. Paul wrote epistles in prison, John the Apocalypse in exile, and their later writings belong to a period when the tide of triumph had for a time been checked, and earnest Christians had to struggle against the depressing influences of reaction. It was very natural that early Christians should think of Christ's Spirit as the Divine Comforter. The translation of *παράκλητος* as "comforter" marks the impression made by the New Testament; and even now some think that Christianity consists mainly in the cheerful endurance of suffering, and allow others to think of their faith as gloomy and subdued. At the sunrise of Christianity the sky was dark; and some seem to think that, when the clouds break, we should draw down the blinds, lest there should be too much illumination. Our most emphatic warning against such mistakes is in the Old Testament.

For these Hebrew Scriptures are not the literature of a unique period, but of a long history; again and again its sky was overcast, but there were many days when the sun shone brightly all day long. It tells of the tranquil life of Isaac, the noble serenity of Abraham, the splendour and triumphs of the best days of David and Solomon. There are strains of exultation that celebrate the time "when the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion." Many psalms, many chapters of the prophets, remind us that there are times when, in the grace of God, His people may be glad without effort or afterthought. Are we to believe that this brightness of rich and varied life, this free and childlike gladness, have passed away as inferior and carnal attributes of a worn-out dispensation? To think so would greatly dishonour Christ. They are rather among the many gifts and blessings which He has renewed and secured to us. Men often turn to Greece for an inspiration of light and gladness, and there are tints and tones which Greece alone

can give; but Israel's story is painted in even richer colours, and strikes more thrilling notes. Christian life is grievously impoverished when this source of inspiration is neglected.

There is one element of the brightness of the Old Testament which calls for special consideration—the spirit of indomitable hope which breathes through its pages. The Old Testament looks forward, Christianity looks backward. Whatever may be thought of the conscious and deliberate Messianic intention of individual passages, the Messianic spirit and hope pervade the whole Old Testament. The glories of the past are the guarantee of a yet more glorious future, each fresh experience is made the basis of a new and confident expectation. The patient and often deferred hopes of the patriarchs are directed to the Promised Land; but Israel does not rest in the fulfilment of this promise. For the prophets there is still and always a future full of Divine promise. The vision is manifold, according to variety of circumstance and temperament, but the substance is always the same: God will manifest Himself more fully both in judgment and in mercy. Slowly the vision forms itself of a human Saviour, the medium of a Divine salvation; and this is the burden of many a prophetic utterance. Each prophet presses into the service of his Divine message all that history has recorded, all that experience or imagination can suggest. No one dreams that he is to be limited by any literal interpretation of the exact words of his predecessor; each takes up the glorious tradition of hope derived from the fathers, finds new words and new music for the old theme, and hands it on to his successor. Israel's days of triumph provide suggestions of outline and colouring of yet brighter days to come. Israel's ruin and anguish only heighten the picture by their contrast. In many respects the later Jews showed themselves unable to grasp the great ideas of their own Scriptures; some aspects indeed of

the Messianic hope completely possessed the Jewish mind; an elect few rose to the heights of ancient prophetic vision. When we see what those few accomplished, when we try to imagine what might have been if the faith of Israel had been as broad and spiritual as it was deep-rooted and intense, we are tempted to think that their unbelief has been the infinite loss of the world; and yet "there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few." As it was, the Old Testament handed on its mighty hope and influence and inspiration, and herein Christianity found the impetus and momentum that sent it like an overwhelming tide through the world.

Nor was Christianity unfaithful to this ancient spirit of hope. Christ and His apostles strike the same key-note of forward outlook and expectation. They did not rest in the splendid achievements of the early days of the Church; they called on Christians to look forward from the incarnation and passion and resurrection to newer and fuller manifestations of the power and grace of God. They marked their sense of the importance of what was yet to come when they spoke of the second coming, thus indicating future events that might rank with the first coming; what had been was neither end nor climax of God's dealings with men.

But in the later Isaiah and in the New Testament the tide of spiritual truth touches high-water mark. These greatest revelations are only understood and appreciated through long and painful efforts, after many pauses and retreats. So it is with the renewed hope which the New Testament sets before us. All the vain and weary talk about the second coming illustrates the danger of ignoring the connexion of the Old and New Testament. Seen in the light of ancient prophecy, with its rapid changes and developments, its acknowledged audacity of imagery, the utterances about the second coming breathe all that marvel-

lous passion of triumphant hope which the New Testament receives from the Old. But the dull brains of Western fanatics have only seen in it a truth allied to the more hopeless mysteries of Daniel and the Apocalypse, and have made it the occasion for endless and futile sums in elementary arithmetic. We must, of course, recognise in it a large element of mystery; yet we may grasp the idea that, as the New Testament fulfils the promise of the Old, so it introduces a new promise of its own; in this confidence we may look forward to any New Reformation, whether it come soon or late. We may study the future in the interests of the past; it is only by looking to the future that we can hope to understand the past; it is only by making fresh advances that we can secure what is already gained. And yet in a craven spirit men only ask of the future, that it should not interfere with the cherished gifts they have received from the past; for them the future is only the destroyer of the past, the spoiler of their ancient spiritual possessions. People speak of Christianity as a fortress, whose outworks are falling into the enemy's hands, and it is hoped that their surrender may preserve the citadel. They express their determination to "hold the fort"; but that is a small part of our warfare. We are called upon to go forward, conquering and to conquer. But if we do not trust the future, we are sure to find it the enemy of our faith. Let us therefore rather look to the future for a fuller and clearer knowledge of God, than dread that it will bring the loss of the knowledge we have. Old and New Testaments, old and new reformations, can but be links in the eternal chain of the purposes of God.

W. H. BENNETT.

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING ON THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT OF SIN.

VII. (*continued*) MODERN OPINIONS.

MUCH more thorough and satisfactory than any of the works mentioned last month, and well worth careful study, is a small volume on *Future Punishment* by Dr. Clemance. The author enumerates and then discusses four theories; *viz.* (1) Universal Restoration, (2) Annihilation, (3) the Absolute Endlessness of suffering and sin, (4) his own opinion, *viz.* that "in Scripture, the duration of Future Punishment is left indefinite."¹ Of these theories he says:² "We do not accept *the first*, for it seems to us *against* Scripture; nor *the second*, for it *distorts* Scripture; nor *the third*, for it *goes beyond* Scripture." Of these judgments, the first and second are supported by arguments most able and, as I think, most conclusive. Nor can I deny that the third theory has often been stated in language which, in my view, goes far beyond the teaching of the Bible. Dr. Clemance's defence of this third judgment is little more than an exposition of the meaning of the word *eternal*, an attempt to show that it conveys the idea, not of absolute, but only of relative, endlessness; *i.e.* of endlessness from the writer's own mental point of view. With this exposition of the meaning of the word, these papers are in substantial agreement. On page 53, Dr. Clemance strongly condemns "a tremendous assertion of Moses Stuart's, which ought never to have been made; *viz.* 'If the Scriptures have not asserted the endless punishment of the wicked, neither have they asserted the

¹ See p. 62. I understand Dr. Clemance to mean that the Bible is quite definite about the finality of future punishment, but that it leaves open a possibility that the lost may sink into unconsciousness.

² On p. 19.

endless happiness of the righteous, nor the endless glory and existence of the Godhead.'” In this condemnation I heartily agree. For in addition to passages similar in form to those which describe the future punishment of sin, other passages, *e.g.* Luke i. 33, “Of His kingdom there shall be no end,” assert in words open to no doubt the endless existence of Christ and of God, and of those over whom Christ will bear endless sway. Careless over-statement like that quoted above has done much harm, and has put a sharp weapon into the hands of opponents. Whether Dr. Clemance’s own theory goes as far as the Scripture fairly warrants, many will doubt. But his warning to keep well within the limits of our inspired guides is certainly salutary.

To me, Dr. Clemance seems to have himself gone beyond these limits when, on p. 16, he asserts that “no human spirit reaches the crucial point of its probation till it has come into contact with the claims of the Lord Jesus Christ for acceptance or rejection.” This statement involves a probation beyond the grave for those who in this life have not heard the Gospel. But no proof of the statement is given. It rests entirely on the assumption that, apart from the Gospel, there can be no satisfactory test of human character. This I deny. The ordinary circumstances and events of life, taken in connexion with the law written upon the hearts of all men, afford to all who come to years of maturity a most searching and impartial test of character. We have therefore no need to seek a probation beyond the grave. It is right to say that Dr. Clemance mentions a future probation only by way of suggestion. As not taught in the Bible, he refuses to assert it.¹ But it is involved in the fundamental principle quoted above. In proof that probation is not necessarily or probably endless, and that it will not always lead to amendment,

¹ See p. 76.

Dr. Clemance appropriately quotes Luke xiii. 9, "If it bear fruit well ; if not, cut it down."

Almost simultaneously with the first paper of this series appeared a most careful and useful volume by James Fyfe, entitled *The Hereafter*. The writer discusses the testimony of many ancient nations, of the Old Testament, of the Apocrypha, and of the New Testament, to a future life and retribution, investigating carefully the meaning of the words used ; and discusses also the theories of Conditional Immortality and Universal Restoration ; and objections to Eternal Punishment. Taken as a whole, and reserving judgment on many details, Mr. Fyfe's conclusions seem to me just. His mode of dealing with the matter is certainly right. And I heartily recommend his book as by far the best on this supremely difficult subject.

VIII. THE RESULT.

WE come now to sum up the practical result of the research embodied in these papers, in order thus to form an opinion touching the teaching of the New Testament about the Future Punishment of Sin.

The careful student will at once notice how much less is said by the Apostles and by Christ about the doom of sinners than about the present privilege and the future glory of the saved. The great doctrines of the Gospel, such as salvation through faith and through the death of Christ, and the gift, to all who believe, of the Holy Spirit, to be in them the Divine source of a life like that of Christ, are taught again and again, in wonderful diversity of form, revealing nevertheless essential harmony, on almost every page of the New Testament. On the other hand, we read very little about the future punishment of sin except the passages quoted or alluded to in these papers. According to our need, we have received. Upon the promises, not

upon the threatenings, of God rests the Christian's hope. These promises are therefore fully expounded. The threatenings were added to deter us from neglecting so great salvation. The effectiveness of this deterrent is not lessened by the obscurity which surrounds the awful punishment of sin. This scantier information warns us to use the utmost care in interpreting the statements of Holy Scripture about the mysterious doom of the lost.

The various types of New Testament teaching agree to assert that beyond the grave exact retribution for all actions done on earth awaits all men, good and bad. And the whole chorus of Apostles and Evangelists asserts, with one glad voice, again and again, in every variety of phrase, that all who put trust in Christ, sinners though they be, will be saved here from the power of sin and will enter the endless and glorious rest of God. On the other hand, they agree to teach that the punishment of the wicked will be utter and hopeless ruin. St. Paul twice, and St. Peter once, use language implying that this ruin will be final. And this is clearly and very conspicuously implied in an assertion about Judas recorded in the First and Second Gospels as spoken by Christ, and in a metaphor, *viz.* the destruction of vegetable matter by fire, attributed to Him in each of the Four Gospels. But neither in the Epistles of St. Paul nor in the Fourth Gospel have we any definite teaching about the condition of the lost. On the other hand, the Synoptist Gospels speak of them in unmistakable terms as in actual and extreme suffering. Visions of suffering beyond the grave are a conspicuous feature in the Book of Revelation. And these visions reach up to the farthest limit of the prophet's forward gaze.

This plain teaching of Holy Scripture has received during subsequent ages, from various sources, various accretions and modifications.

Some who have grasped the promise of life in Christ

Jesus, and have found it to be not only a light in deepest darkness, but at all times a means of moral elevation, have inferred that all who have not this inward experience will suffer the punishment threatened to those who obey not the Gospel. They have thus doomed to eternal death the mass of mankind. This seems to me, for reasons already stated,¹ to go beyond the legitimate interpretation of the Bible. The fate of our fellows we must leave to Him who has watched the action and read the hearts of all men.

That human consciousness will not cease at death is plainly taught, and everywhere assumed, throughout the New Testament. In this sense, the soul of man may be said to be immortal; it will not be dissipated by the stroke of death. But from this, and from the teaching of the New Testament about the endless blessedness of the saved and about the sufferings of the lost, many have inferred, and have asserted, that the soul of man is by its own nature and constitution indissoluble, that human consciousness is, except in such intervals as sleep, essentially permanent. And this assertion has been used as an argument to prove the endlessness of the sufferings of the lost. But it is worthy of note that such argument is never used in the Bible. Man is said in Genesis to have become, at his creation, "a living soul." But we are never taught, in so many words or in words equivalent, that the life then given is an inalienable possession. The introduction of this argument, foreign as it is to the thought of Holy Scripture, has greatly complicated the subject before us.

Ambiguity in the use of the word "immortality" seems to me a defect in Mr. Fyfe's able work.²

This complication is the more serious, because in the New Testament *life* means much more than conscious existence. Wherever this word refers to existence beyond the grave, it denotes the normal and blessed state of the

¹ See pp. 283, 284.

² See pp. 207-215.

servants of God. The future state of the lost is never spoken of as *life*. Even while living on earth, the wicked are said to be "dead";¹ "he that disobeys the Son will not see life";² the doom of the unsaved is "the second death";³ "immortality" is the reward of well-doing.⁴ Consequently, they who speak of the soul of man as essentially immortal and of the lost as living for ever, give to the words *life* and *immortality* a meaning not found in the Bible, and make assertions in direct conflict with its teaching. Thus have arisen much confusion and error.

Others have gone astray in another direction, and have gone farther astray. They have read with joy of God's infinite and fatherly love to all men, and of His loving purpose to save all men. They know that they would do anything in their power to save their own children from ruin; and that God is armed with infinite power. They therefore infer that by His irresistible might He will accomplish His purpose of mercy in every individual embraced by that purpose, and will rescue ultimately all men from sin and death.

We have already seen that, if this inference be correct, nearly all the writers of the New Testament were in serious error touching the doom of the lost; and that later research has discovered an important truth, colouring the whole dealing of God with man, which had no place in the thought of the illustrious Apostle to the Gentiles, of the writers of the Four Gospels, and in the thought of the Great Teacher as it is revealed in His recorded words. This is most unlikely.

To the argument involved in this alternative, it may perhaps be replied that not the whole purpose of God touching those who reject the salvation offered in the Gospel was revealed to the writers of the New Testament, that behind the threatenings therein contained there lies

¹ 1 Tim. v. 6.² John iii. 36.³ Rev. xx. 14.⁴ Rom. ii. 7.

hidden in the breast of God a secret purpose of mercy even for those about whom no word of mercy was spoken by the Apostles or by Christ. This suggestion I am in no haste dogmatically to pronounce impossible. Far be it from me to limit the mercy of God. But how unsubstantial is the basis on which this hope rests! It has no better foundation than man's conception of what he would do were he in God's position. And the worthlessness of this conception as a basis of expectation touching the future action of God is revealed in the fact, manifest to all, that before our eyes in His government of the world God is ever doing and permitting what no earthly father would do or permit. Especially we notice that in human life on earth the highest interests of manhood are in some measure committed even to childhood, that some children have blinded themselves, thus inflicting on themselves a lifelong injury. This analogy would be, standing by itself, small proof or presumption that the final destiny of each is contingent on his action in the present life. But it is as strong on one side as is the above argument on the other. And it is in harmony with, though falling far below, the teaching of the New Testament about the finality of the future punishment of sin. This intangible hope of a mercy of which we find no trace in the Covenant of Mercy and in the Record of God's infinite love, seems to me to lie beyond the range of practical theology. It has no place in the revealed Truth of God.

Less conspicuously in conflict with the plain words of Holy Scripture is another suggestion. It has been said, sometimes with great confidence, and indeed as plainly taught in Holy Scripture, that the lost will ultimately cease to be; and that thus in the end both sin and sinners will vanish from the universe of God. That, taken by itself, this suggestion has something to commend it, I am willing to admit. It may seem reasonable to expect that,

when existence has become worthless or worse than worthless, God may in mercy permit it to cease, that in compassion towards the obdurate He may permit them to fall into an endless sleep. Indeed, from their own point of view, this would seem to be the least unhappy fate for those who will be excluded from the glories of the Kingdom of God. We turn, therefore, to the writings of the Apostles and to the recorded words of Jesus to see if this apparently merciful suggestion has any place there. The result of our search is embodied in these papers. The expectation that the lost will ultimately cease to be rests, so far as the teaching of the Bible is concerned, simply on the meaning of two Greek words or their synonyms; and, as I have endeavoured to show, on a misinterpretation of them. In other words, this attractive suggestion has no place in Holy Scripture. It is however argued that if punishment be final, as the New Testament plainly teaches, and if the punished ones are not ultimately annihilated, then evil will never cease to mar the work of God.¹ To this argument I have no answer. But to me it seems, in view of the profound mystery of sin and its results, to be a most uncertain ground of expectation touching the future action of God. My duty as an exegete is merely to show that it has no place in the Christian documents. And these documents are, in my opinion, the only reliable source of information about the world to come.

One more suggestion remains. Inasmuch as on earth many have not heard in its fulness and power the Gospel of Jesus, it has been suggested that for such, and perhaps for all men, there may be another offer of salvation beyond the grave, that the love of God which has given to some men on earth great spiritual advantages, will give to all men similar advantages beyond the grave. It may be admitted that we have in the Bible no categorical denial of this

¹ See Dr. Row, as quoted on p. 393.

possibility. But, on the other hand, we have nothing which implies or suggests it. And we have clear indications that even for those who have never heard the Gospel there is, apart from a future probation, a path leading to life eternal. The case of imbeciles and of those who die in infancy lies outside the teaching of the Bible. And the immense difficulties which surround it warn us not to make it a ground of argument. Those who have passed from earth without entering the arena of personal life, we must leave, and we may leave, without a moment's apprehension, in the hands of their loving Creator and Judge.

In other words, the three theories discussed above have no place in Holy Scripture, and are more or less, directly or indirectly, contradicted by it. All scriptural support of them vanishes under grammatical investigation of the Sacred Text. They are mere human attempts to solve that which the Bible leaves unsolved. If we are to accept them in any measure, it must be simply and only on the ground of our conception, based upon our knowledge of the character of God, of what He is likely to do with those who refuse the salvation wrought out for, and announced to, men by Christ. What such ground of expectation is worth, each must judge for himself.

Such is the result of our study of the New Testament in its teaching about the Future Punishment of Sin. To many, or to all, of my readers it will doubtless be profoundly disappointing. We should like to have found some mitigation of the punishment threatened to sinners. But our search has been in vain. And we are left face to face with the fact, now indisputable, that the Writers of the New Testament agree to teach that the doom of those who persist in refusing the salvation offered by Christ is utter and hopeless and final ruin. Before that vision of ruin, even for the worst of men, all human thought quails. We dare not contemplate the doom of one lost soul. From

that awful vision of judgment we have sought refuge in the Book of God. But its iron gates of threatening have mercilessly repelled us. Where shall our baffled anxiety turn? To whom shall our thought fly for refuge?

We will fly for refuge, and we shall find refuge, in the infinite love of our Father in Heaven, the Creator and Father of us and of all men. The lost are in His hands. No doom will be pronounced upon them except by the lips of Him who shed His blood to save from death every child of Adam. No punishment will be inflicted except by His infinite Wisdom and infinite Love. If we have misinterpreted His purposes, the Judge Himself will make no mistake. But His wisdom and our ignorance warn us not hastily to declare what He will do. In speaking of His judgment we must carefully keep our language within the limits of the indisputable teaching of Holy Scripture. And, for the solution of the many difficulties which at present that teaching seems to involve, we must wait till the morning breaks and the shadows flee away. In that Day even the punishment of sin will be seen to be a part of the infinite mercy of God. And, in full view of all the facts of the case, our voice will swell the "great shout of much people in Heaven, saying, Hallelujah; Salvation and glory and power belong to our God: for TRUE AND RIGHTEOUS ARE HIS JUDGMENTS."

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

NOTES ON GENESIS.

THE FIFTH DAY (vers. 20-23).

It was the work of the second day to create the firmament and to separate the waters : it is the work of the fifth day to people water and air with their several tenants.

20. *Let the waters bring forth abundantly.*—More correctly, "Let the waters swarm with swarms of living creatures." In the same way as the earth had imparted to it, by the Divine fiat, the power to bring forth the vegetation which adorns and diversifies its surface, so the command runs to the waters to swarm with multitudes of fish. The two commands are nearly parallel, even in the cast of language, except that in the former the causative mood of the verb gives a prominence to the action of the earth which is wanting in the latter. The renderings of the LXX., ἐξαγαγέτω, and Vulg., *producant*, do not bring out the distinction. The ἐξεργάτω of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion is nearer the mark ; for, in spite of Liddell & Scott, the verb is not transitive, but is followed by a cognate accusative (see the LXX. of Exod. viii. 2). Luther also has correctly, "Es erzeuge sich das Wasser mit webenden und lebendigen Thieren." The R.V. has here kept to the A.V., but gives the sense correctly in the margin. In Exodus viii. 3 [Heb., vii. 28] however it deserts the A.V., "the river shall bring forth frogs abundantly," and boldly substitutes, "the river shall swarm with frogs."

These swarms are particularly described, further, as "creatures that have life" (lit. "a living soul"), because here we have the first instance of animal life upon the earth. See the same phrase ii. 7, 19, ix. 12 ; and with the article, ix. 10. Nothing is more remarkable than the way in which the first appearance, both of vegetable and

animal life, is recorded. Both are ascribed to the voice of God, in both there is an operation upon matter; but the *how* is and must probably for ever remain a mystery. The process is hidden, the result only is given.

Dr. Dallinger in his masterly lecture, *The Creator, and What we may Know of the Method of Creation*, speaks of "the impassable gulf between the living and the not-living" (p. 35). He quotes Sir Henry Roscoe as saying, in his address as president of the British Association, 1887, "Although the danger of dogmatising as to the progress of science has already been shown in too many instances, yet one cannot help feeling that the barrier which exists between the organized and unorganized worlds is one which the chemist sees no chance of breaking down." Again Dr. Dallinger writes :

"How, in the great past, mineral and gaseous matters on this earth were, as a question of scientific method, so affected as to become living matter is, to our present resources at least, impenetrable.

'Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but *if* I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.'

"I merely contend that, whatever were the means by which dead matter first lived, they were higher, infinitely higher, than matter and motion; they could only have been the resources of a *competent* power.

"I adopt gladly the language of Professor Huxley: 'Belief, in the scientific sense of the word,' he says, 'is a serious matter, and needs strong foundations. To say therefore, in the admitted absence of evidence, that I have any belief as to the mode in which existing forms of life have originated, would be using words in a wrong sense. But expectation is permissible where belief is not; and if it were given me to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions, which it can no more see again than a man can recall his infancy, I should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from not-living matter.' So should I" (pp. 38, 39).

Dr. Dallinger is apparently not thinking of Genesis, yet it is evident how entirely the language of Genesis lends itself to the view, of which he has here expressed his approval, as to the relation which must originally have subsisted between living protoplasm and not-living matter.¹

And fowl that may fly.—This rendering, according to which the birds are produced out of the water, though it has the support of all the Greek versions and of Jerome, and is grammatically admissible, is not necessary, introduces a perfectly needless difficulty, and is contradicted by ii. 19, where they are said to have been formed out of the ground. It is curious to see how Augustine is puzzled by it, and to what shifts he is driven. The rendering adopted by the R.V., "And let fowl fly," is the obvious one, and is in harmony with the style of the chapter throughout, where each successive act of creation is introduced in the same way by the jussive form, "Let there be," etc. (vers. 3, 6, 9, 11, 14). It is true that in these cases the verb precedes the noun, instead of following it as here; but both constructions are allowable (see for instance Ps. lxxii. 9, 10).

Fly.—The verb is in an intensive form, and might be fully expressed by "fly hither and thither, up and down."

In the open firmament.—Lit. "on the face of the firmament," the face of the vault which sustains the waters being turned towards the earth. The Hebrew has no special name for the air or atmosphere; hence it says "bird of the heaven" (vers. 26, 28, 30; ii. 19, etc.).

21. The creative word is general: in the accomplishment thereof some details are added.

Great whales.—The R.V. correctly, "the great sea-mon-

¹ Although I purposely abstain most carefully from building up any artificial scheme of "reconciliation" between Genesis and science, and in particular from any attempt to make out a correspondence between the "days" of Genesis and the "periods" and processes of geology, yet I do not feel myself precluded from drawing attention to the recorded opinions of men of science, so far as they seem to illustrate the leading statements of Genesis.

sters." The root denotes something "long," "extended," and the word is used rather widely, sometimes of the serpent (Exod. vii. 9; Deut. xxxii. 33; Ps. xci. 13), more commonly of the crocodile (Isa. xxvii. 1, li. 9; Ezek. xxix. 3; Ps. lxxiv. 13, etc.), and of other huge water animals (Ps. cxlviii. 7; Job vii. 12), but never of fishes as a class. These are here denoted at large by "every living creature which moveth, wherewith the waters swarm after their kind." There is no pretence for saying that the Hebrew word *tannin*, here rendered "whales," means "crocodiles" in this passage, and that the object of the writer in declaring that they were the creation of God was to furnish an indirect protest against the crocodile-worship of Egypt. The word rendered "moveth" is used not only, as here, of fishes and of the smaller creeping animals, whether with or without feet, upon the earth, but even of the larger land animals (Gen. vii. 21; Ps. civ. 20); and the noun derived from it is applied in one passage collectively to the whole population of the sea (Ps. civ. 25).

Which the waters brought forth abundantly.—Rather, "wherewith the waters swarmed." See note on ver. 20.

22. *And God blessed them.*—Not only as before is there the customary mark of the Divine approval, "And God saw that it was good" (ver. 21), but a special blessing is pronounced on these, the first creatures that have "a living soul." This blessing provides for their multiplication, each after their several kinds, in accordance with the law of their creation, and indicates a permanent difference of species. Nothing is said about centres of creation or derivation from single pairs. The plants also were endowed with the power of reproduction; but no Divine word of blessing is addressed to them, as now to the "creature that has life" in a sense in which the plant does not possess it. The phrase, "Be fruitful and multiply," is characteristic of the Elohist. With

the Divine blessing the fifth day closes: "And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day."

THE SIXTH DAY (vers. 24-31).

The work of the sixth day, like that of the third, to which it corresponds, is twofold. There the earth is prepared by the separation of land from sea, and by clothing it with vegetation, to be the abode of animals and man; here man and animals are created to inhabit it.

24. *Let the earth bring forth.*—Exactly parallel to the command ver. 11, where see note.

The living creature, or rather, "living creatures"; lit. "living soul."—This is the general description of the tenants of the land as before (ver. 20) of the tenants of the water. They are afterwards distributed roughly into classes. The land animals, like the plants, are the offspring of the earth. But whereas it is said in ver. 12 that the earth *brought forth* grass, etc., here it is said God *made* the animals. (The verb "made" in this verse is exactly equivalent to the verb "created" in ver. 21.) According to ii. 19, Ps. civ. 29, Eccles. iii. 20, they are made "out of the ground." There is a Divine operation upon the earth in order to their production, more immediate than in the case of the vegetable kingdom. They are classified broadly under three heads (repeated in a different order, ver. 25), as existing each of them "after their kind": (1) cattle,¹ *i.e.* domestic animals, though the word comprises elsewhere the larger kinds of wild animals (vi. 7, 20, Lev. xi. 2; and in poetry is frequently used of wild beasts); (2) reptiles, including all the smaller animals (see above, ver. 20; the verb from this root is used in a wide sense of the *movement* of the beasts of the forest, Ps. civ. 20; cf. Gen. ix. 2); (3) beast of the

¹ For this the LXX. has *τερράνοα* in ver. 24 and *τὰ κτήνη* in ver. 25. The Vulg. has *jumenta* in both.

earth (or "of the field," ii. 19), including wild beasts of all kinds.

"The zoology of the writer," it has been said, "like his botany, is of an extremely simple kind. It comprises three classes of animals: those that live in the water, those that fly in the air, and those that inhabit the earth. The last in their turn are subdivided into three categories: domestic quadrupeds, quadrupeds that are not domestic, and creeping things—a vague and wide term, comprising all animals which have more than four feet or which have none at all." But see above on ver. 11. Whether of all the various animals a single pair only was created, we are not told. The expression in ver. 20 points the other way. If the waters were to swarm with swarms of living creatures, this could not possibly mean that only a single pair of each kind was created.

And God made.—In ver. 21 we have, "And God *created*." Cf. vers. 7, 16, and see below, 26, 27: "Let us *make* man," "So God *created* man," the two verbs being practically synonymous in this chapter. Again on this act of creation there rests the Divine approval: "God saw that it was good" (ver. 25).

26. A vast preparation has been made, a glorious house furnished, the dweller is expected. In solemn state he is ushered into his abode.

Let us make man.—The plural has been differently explained. The Palestine Targum, the Midrash, Philo, and other Jewish interpreters, and some Christians following them, suppose that God addresses the hierarchy of heaven, with whom He takes solemn counsel, before He creates man, the flower and crown of all His works. Others, and especially the Patristic expositors, see here a plurality of Persons in the Godhead, and by implication at least the doctrine of the Trinity. But the first explanation has no support in the context, and the second anticipates the later revelation.

The same plural form of expression occurs in the story of the Fall (iii. 22), "The man is become as one of us"; in the dispersion at Babel (xi. 7), "Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language"; in the vision of Isaiah (vi. 8), where there is a combination of the singular and the plural: "And the Lord said, Whom shall I send? and who will go for us?" In like manner in the vision of Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 19, 20), the Lord is sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing by Him, and He addresses a question to them, to which one makes answer after this manner and another after that. And in the prologue of the book of Job, "the sons of God," *i.e.* the angels, come to present themselves before Him, and the adversary comes with them, and a dialogue takes place between God and the Satan. But in these three latter passages express mention is made of the angels or the seraphim. The eternal King on His throne is surrounded by His court. It is not so in the passages in Genesis. There is no mention there of angels. If in Job xxxviii. 7 we are told that, when the foundations of the world were laid, "all the sons of God shouted for joy," this does not imply that God took them into His counsel in the creation of man. Delitzsch, who strenuously supports the interpretation that the plural form is used in Genesis because the angels are addressed, argues that the expression, "Let us make," does not denote more than this taking into counsel, it does not denote that the angels had any part in the creation itself; it is their sympathy, not their co-operation, which is enlisted. Even the expression, "in our image, after our likeness," he argues does not exclude the belief that God associates the angels with Himself; for the angels are called "sons of God," and therefore partakers of the Divine nature, of which man himself is destined to be a partaker. (Cf. iii. 22 and Ps. viii. 6 with Heb. ii. 7, 2 Pet. i. 4.) Still this notion of an address to the angels cannot, I think, be maintained; for

it is introduced from other parts of Scripture, and no hint of it is given in the passage before us; it is to put a stress upon words to interpret, "Let us make," as only expressing the communication to the heavenly host of the Divine purpose, without their being invited to take part in it; it is a notion which finds no support elsewhere in Scripture, that man's likeness to God in any way involves a likeness to the angels; and Delitzsch's reference to Psalm viii. 6 does not establish this. The Scripture doctrine is, that, though man is for a little while lower than the angels (Ps. viii. 6, LXX.; cf. Heb. ii. 7), yet by virtue of the incarnation he is to be in Christ higher than the angels, and not that he participates in their nature. His sonship is through the incarnation. God speaks as sovereign Lord, in the exercise of His absolute will and pleasure, when He says, "Let us make," as well as when He says, "Let there be."

How then are we to understand the plural? It is the fashion now among critics to deny the existence of a *pluralis majestaticus*, "a royal we," in Hebrew. At least this is said to be found only in later Hebrew, and in the mouth of Persian or Greek rulers (Ezra iv. 18; 1 Macc. x. 19, xi. 31, xv. 9). But the "royal we" is common enough in other languages, and even in the Korân, despite its strict monotheism, God frequently speaks of Himself in the plural. Moreover as the name of God itself is plural in Hebrew, as comprising the fulness of all attributes and powers in one Person, it seems very natural that such a Person should say of Himself "We" and "Us," and especially on a solemn occasion like this, when God would create a being who was to be made in His own image, and set as His vicegerent upon earth. We have but to substitute the singular in this passage, "Let Me make man in My own image," to be sensible how much it would lose in dignity of expression. The plural is a plural of majesty. Compare our Lord's words in St. John iii. 11:

"We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen." This is the simplest and most natural explanation, and I have no hesitation in adopting it.

This being is to be made according to God's purpose "in His image after His likeness." There is only a slight distinction here in the use of the prepositions, the first, "in," gives more definiteness perhaps to the object; man is cast in the mould, as it were, or clothed in the image of God; whilst the second, "after," suggests the idea of a pattern which is followed, though, considering the usage elsewhere (e.g. Exod. xxv. 40, xxx. 32, 37), that difference can hardly be pressed. The LXX. have the same preposition in both cases: *κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*. In v. 3, the order is reversed in the Hebrew: "in his likeness, after his image"; and there the LXX. render *κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ*; whereas the Vulg. has in both passages *ad imaginem et similitudinem*. Nor can a very clear distinction be laid down between "image" and "likeness." The former, which occurs in the same sense as here in v. 3, ix. 6, means properly "a shadow," "a vain show" (Ps. xxxix. 6, lxxiii. 20). But it is used also generally of images (1 Sam. vi. 5, 11; Ezek. xvi. 17), and also of idols, as being representations, adumbrations of deities (Num. xxxiii. 52, 2 Kings xi. 18, etc.). The latter is used of any sort of resemblance; more particularly, as by Ezekiel, of the forms seen by him in vision (i. 5, 26; viii. 2; x. 1, 21, etc.); once of the representation of oxen supporting the brazen sea in Solomon's temple (2 Chron. iv. 3); in 2 Kings xvi. 10 it is used of the pattern of an altar. The two words therefore are very nearly synonymous.¹

Not having any claim to speak with authority on scientific subjects myself, I asked three of my friends, eminent

¹ The word מִצַּל is not a later Aramaic word, as Wellhausen asserts. It is good Hebrew both as to the root and as to its formation.

for their scientific attainments who are also better believers in revelation. To say how far in their judgment, the statements of the first chapter of Genesis with regard to the order of creation are or are not confirmed by what may be considered the certain results of modern scientific discovery. They have all replied and have consecutively allowed me to publish their replies, which will follow in due course.

J. J. STEWART PERCOWSE.

THE HEBREW PROBLEM OF THE PERIOD.

OUR LORD'S SECOND TEMPTATION.

II.

A TREATY with Hebraism would involve entangling compromises and accommodations, dangerous delays, ravelled issues. It is sure to be a sterile hybridity, an unavailing experiment. Miracles will galvanize life, but not awake it; they will only stimulate into a morbid expectancy the superficial ritualisms and political cupidities and cynical rationalisms which were undermining the life of the nation. An alliance in Jerusalem would provincialize the spiritual religion. It would be an interregnum, indefinitely postponing the kingdom of God, a regency which would supplant the Reign of God. It is disaster, and the disaster is painted by the historical picture of the Israelites in the wilderness, distrusting and experimenting, which invited the wrath and doom, "that they should not enter into My rest."¹ This is the clear conclusion before Him.

He sorrowfully consents to the tragic solution of the problem. He resolves, with the reluctance of love, upon the dissolution of the Hebrew fabric. This sorrow of tempted love anticipates those tears which later on He shed over Jerusalem. The Johannine memoir is mainly occupied with the Jerusalem ministry of Jesus, with Christ's efforts to save Jerusalem. From the fifth chapter onwards with regular recurrence we are told that the death of Christ is in the stifling air of the city. He became intolerable to the scrofulous society in its hectic debilities. Every time Christ appears in Jerusalem He feels that the thermal pressure indexes His death.² Spite of the hostility, the antique historic associations, the glories of Abraham,

¹ Ps. xcv. 11.

² See John v. 16; vii. 19, 25, 32; viii. 37; x. 31; xi. 50.

Moses, David, and Isaiah kept burning in Him an unquenched love, begun in the days of the temptation. There is a pathos in every word, the sadness of a love which wants to save underlining every sentence, in the elegy He utters. "He beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."¹

The resolution to keep the safe and straight path of the primary plan, unmodified, takes the historic drapery and dramatic form, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God."² It expresses the high-water mark of purpose and decision, and a compendium of wide reviews and clear readings of the problem which has fascinated Him. The Remnant is there, the holy seed, the stock of Isaiah's felled terebinth and oak, even a minority within a minority, which He will call out and inspire with His Spirit. In Nathanael and Peter and John and Paul, Mary and Martha and Mary of Magdala, there remains the kernel of Hebraism, which will be vivified by His death. The glory of Abraham, Moses, and David will continue. But the case must go, the framework shattered to pieces, a total dissolution of the old fabric.

The equivalents to this temptation in human history

¹ Luke xix. 41-44.

² The scholar will notice the lucidity of the resolution in the prepositional prefix of *ἐκπειράσεις*: *Ὁὐκ ἐκπειράσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου*, Thou shalt not out and out tempt the Lord thy God.

and individual experience will enforce the argument here adduced.

1. The problem before Christ is to extricate the spiritual from the material of the Hebrew Church, the essence of religion from its historic accidents, and to inform a new order of humanity, preserving the continuity of the past. He has said, "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." If the Hebrew Church had handed to Him this reconstruction, and accepted His terms, there had been no destruction of Jerusalem, but the transformation of the Temple into the first Christian Cathedral. An impracticable conservatism, which had issued in malignant morbid conditions, had made this concession impossible. Christ's temptation was from the natural principle of conservation and continuity deep in Him, and the facilities which this conservatism and its compromises afforded for the inauguration of the new society.

These facilities form a class of temptations ever present with us, making conflicts and complications, demanding even dissolutions.

Thought requires a formula of words, but it outgrows the formula. Morality takes on the form of manners, and manners come to be regarded as the spirit of morals, and *mores* in Latin meant manners first. Kindness degenerates into politeness. Religion must have a habit, and ritualism overlays and smothers it. Worship has its sacraments, and sacraments may come to be regarded as magic. Progress implies that, after a few centuries, our attainments collect into essences which require new habiliments. Personal growth implies that, after a few years, we get at the kernels of things, find idealisms in the outward. Temptations waylay us here. One is from mental indolence; another is from moral indifference; another from a cynicism towards goodness; and another is from timidity. The mind is fatigued with originality, offended and frightened at it.

Change becomes a terror every way. If the forms and formulas have become institutions, vested interests have been created; they pay, and become more dangerous. Rotten institutions are the parents of revolutions which follow in the wake of the decay of ancient forms. Hebraism is a dead branch on the oak of humanity, and must be sawn off; it is festering into the living substance, but it pays, and may it not be utilized? An antiquated Hellenism invited Roman aggression; an expelled Latinism invited Gothic aggression; a papal senility demanded a Reformation; the decay of feudalism kindled the conflagrations of the French Revolution; the obsolete relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland has created the crime which has desolated that unhappy country. When will we learn that there is no finality for institutions, customs, liturgies, phrases, forms?—finality only for the unseen idealisms which underlie them. Antiquity is a temptation to fine minds.

“This will never do;” was the famous first sentence of the kindly and keen-eyed Jeffrey, in his review of Wordsworth’s *Excursion*.¹ The *Lyrical Ballads* “wavered prettily between silliness and pathos”² was the judgment of the same genial autocrat of criticism at the beginning of this century. He stopped the sale of the poems, and stopped the poet’s supplies, and the poet was very poor. Originality is not understood by the mere intellect; originality has its inspiration in love, as Wordsworth said in reference to this bitter criticism, “We have no thought (save thoughts of pain) but as far as we love and admire.”³ And is it not one of our needs, that we find a mathematics which will have a love of the stars, and not mere measurements of miles, and a metaphysics which will have a love of the ideal, and not concepts of the

¹ *Contributions to the “Edinburgh Review,”* p. 584.

² *Ibid.*, p. 585.

³ Letter to Lady Beaumont, 1807.

absolute? The rage and howl against the originality of Wordsworth is one of the most instructive mental phenomena of this century. Byron, Shelley, Jeffrey, *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, and almost every critic of the day expended a vocabulary of ridicule, contempt, and abuse upon the poetry of Wordsworth. £140 was all that the poet got in twenty-five years for his poems, which have created an epoch of thought for us. If Wordsworth had not a clear sense of his mission, he had succumbed to the temptation, looking on the literary and social world from the pinnacles of poetic ambition; he had yielded, and written things which had pleased men of consideration, and tempted commonplace and precipice. The sanctification of nature and of the elementary affections of human nature, which has been Wordsworth's contribution to our century, had been postponed for another century. He refused the temptation of the literary and reading world, and it came round to him. When Ruskin's *Modern Painters* appeared, the *Edinburgh Review* wrote, "Mischievous to art, mischievous to literature, but mischievous above all to those young and eager minds animated by the love of art and literature, who may mistake this declamatory trash for substantial and stimulating food." Had Ruskin conceded to this critic, the sanctification of art had been postponed indefinitely. Paul was the burning genius of ideas who directed the inevitable conflict between Judaism and Christianity which Christ foresaw in this temptation. He circumcised Titus as a concession to Jerusalem conservatism, and later on Timothy, in the hope of making him an acceptable missionary to the Hebrew world, from which Christianity had to begin. In these instances he probably failed in insight or decision, or more probably succeeded in charity, or still more probably impressed upon his coadjutors his indifference towards all externalism. But he soon saw the necessity to put his foot down, and to accept no compromise,

and to treat Mosaism as a beggarly rudiment. In the Epistle to the Galatians we have the dialectic of his resolution. Had Paul not braved the opposition of the Hebrew world, a bitterness which followed him even after death, had he sought its suffrages, had he wished to make his way easy as a missionary, Christianity had been near strangled in the folds of that rationalism and ritualism which always go together, and which lay as a death-pall over Jerusalem. He had tempted a failure and a disaster.

The temptation to men of genius to come down from the roof and meet the literary reviewers and ecclesiastical leaders and the people of consideration in church and society is very great, something which ordinary men, who have not their resources, can scarcely appreciate. Cowardice, compromise, applause, wealth urge their persuasive eloquence. The same temptation comes to all men to keep well with their fellows, to go with the multitude, to do as others are doing. Good men very properly follow Church traditions, cannot help expressing religious thought by well-worn phrases, worship according to the custom of their fathers, love the antiquity which has made them. When the form is gone, we are naturally afraid the spirit will go; when the creed is attacked, we think doctrine is attacked. But the time comes when new truths, fresh ideas, other readings of the Bible force us out of our routines; and we have then to be loyal to our attainments, and conquer cowardice and popularity. "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God," means, Be true to what you know; take the path of conviction; mind not your stomach, as the Israelites did at Meribah.

The perplexities of our day are the perplexities of a transition period, and the character of a transition period is that the past is drawing into its essences. The temptation at such a period is to keep to the forms; literalness is the trial of the period. We need men of insight at these times.

John was a seer of the age of Jesus, and by the force of his genius he obtained two extracts from the past, which are among the greatest achievements of the human mind. He condensed the essence of the vast, antique system of sacrifice, and said, "Behold, the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." He found the ideal of centuries of thought and feeling which grew round the monarchy of Israel, and said, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." Comparable to these, no feats of insight and genius are to be found in our world, living thought cast into dead thinking, living truths cast into dying materialisms, living ferments into a putrid society.

The doctrine of the fall, the imputation of Adam's sin, federal headship, the covenant, atonement, substitution, justification by faith, plenary inspiration, everlasting punishment contain eternal truths. But the Church is uneasy with them, and the thinking world is indifferent to them, and it is a crisis. The fact is, that these great truths have distilled themselves into essences, which require other expressions, and the entrance among them of other truths requires another perspective, restatements and rearrangements; old truths are never lost. We wait for a genius like that of John, who will find new bottles for the new wine, who will unify past and present in one whole by the idealism which underlies them; a genius of distillation and unification. The exhaustion of the outwards and the expressions of religion is one of the great facts which we have to reckon with. Did not the Hebrew system become petrified by the sheer lapse of time? and was not the Hebrew language exhausted when Christian truth had to take its form from the subtle and flexible language of Euripedes and Plato? A twofold temptation emerges in these times. The temptation to nebulosity, in being or trying to be all spirit without a body or bottle, when the wine is sure to be spilt; and the temptation to literalness, in holding to the

form or formula, when the new wine will be spilt by bursting the old bottles. The spirit needs the letter, though the letter was killing religion in the days of Paul. A letter is a mark for a sound; a number of sounds make a word; the word is the voice of an idea. If the word is not there, the idea is a wandering spirit; the word may be there and the idea departed, and it is all sound. The temptation to nebulousness makes the doubter and the agnostic, and it made the Sadducees of old. The temptation to literalness makes the formalist, who likes a religion which does not inspire him to duty, and the moralist, who likes a morality which is not in him, and which he can put off and put on as he does his clothes. The man without ideas plays with words, and the man without words plays at ideas, and it is playtime for cynics and worldlings, with issues serious enough for everybody. The Church is responsible in these times for the laxness which lets indefiniteness alone, and lets antiquity putrify, and makes a holiday for sceptics and casuists, and markets for worldliness. For amorphousness, on the one hand, and the outwards of religion, on the other, produce also a worldliness. We tempt the Lord our God by the indolence which does not discern essences, and the timidity which does not give them expression; by that nebulousness which leaves the spirit of religion disembodied, and by that literalness which leaves it in worn-out phrases and customs, exhausted routines and rituals. Originality is one of the forces of religion. The idealist and the realist are both exposed to temptation.

2. In the conquest of this temptation Christ shows us the place and the work of the supernatural among spiritual forces. He worked miracles sparingly and on fitting occasions, and commonly in obscure places. He did not exhibit miracles, He did not advertise them. What we call miracles is the impact of mind on matter, and a personality like His could not be in this world without effluences of

the miraculous going out of Him. The supernatural is natural to mind, but in the morbid condition of the nation the miraculous had become magical. The craving for signs had become a diseased temper of the nation. At best, signs are no proper basis for religion; they are signals seen by the eye. The inspirations of religion are in the native love of God in us, and in the splendid pressure of the infinite upon our faculties. Perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon in the life of Christ is His abstinence from the miraculous, the restraint he put on His supernatural power, the supernatural abeyance of Himself. To pasture the soul on miracles is like getting drunk on champagne. It is the capture of the fancy at the expense of faith. A faith languishing in the damp of ruins will find the supernatural a stimulus; but even then they are the blessed who have not seen, and yet have believed.

The supernatural is in us. We do not need to see it outside of us. Are we not supernatural beings ourselves, who converse with the unseen God, and build temples, oppressed with a destiny elsewhere? Mind is an incursion into nature of the supernatural, and it becomes natural by the reconciliation it makes between the natural and the supernatural. Miracles are an expression of the difficulty which mind has with matter, and the difficulty has to be endured. My dog converses with me and with his food, and goes no farther, being lost in nature. We converse not only with the stars and photograph their spectrum, but we go farther into the stellar depths, and find God, and converse with Him. We are not lost in nature, but are above it. If we want other miracles than ourselves to evoke the Christliness that is in us, we are departing from our true selves, and going far away from the truth in us. The truth of Christ is in us, and it may be waked up by the sensuous in miracles when shreds of affinities are still there,

but it cannot be kept waking by the sensuous. It must be sustained by the spiritual, and not the sensuous. "Every one that is of the truth heareth My voice." "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after signs." A generation whose spirits have broken the wedlock with God, who are living in the adulteries of literalism and ritualism, pedantries, and sophistries, this generation seeketh after thaumaturgies.

A splendid opportunity later on was given to Christ to make a profound impression of His supernaturalness in Jerusalem, and it was this temptation repeated, and He refused it; perhaps the profoundest and sublimest instance of self-effacement on record. He was told, "If Thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross, and we will believe Thee." He stuck to the cross, and resisted the engaging witchery of the most bewitching proposal ever made. It would have done no good. The crucifixion is a force, the miraculous a stimulant. Death is a dynamics; descent from the cross a pyrotechnics. The miracle of the resurrection of Lazarus led on to the murder of the miracle worker.

The impression of a miracle is first upon the senses. The eye receives it, and carries the report to the more inward parts. Sensation becomes perception, and the percept the concept. If the dispositions entertain the conceptions, there is harmony within. If impressions remain in the border region, and perception and inclination be at feud, if unwillingness resists conceptions, there is a civil war. The senses will continue the report, they are bound to take up the impressions; they are not at liberty, they are mechanical. The will can refuse to receive the report and to act upon it; the will is free, and is not bound to accept the conviction of reason. This becomes a condition of unreason, which prolonged, becomes a species of insanity. It is this insaneness which accounts for the phenomenon

of the Hebrew rulers conspiring to kill Christ, because the resurrection of Lazarus was an unquestioned fact. It is the only account by which we understand the Pharisees excommunicating the man,—making him an outcast of Hebrew society,—because he had convinced them that he had been born blind, and that he now saw, and because he urged on them the invincible logic, that the Man who had given him his sight is a man who had a Divine commission in Jerusalem. “Why, herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence He is, and yet He hath opened mine eyes. . . . Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this Man were not of God, He could do nothing. . . . They cast him out.”¹

Miracles are a tyranny, carrying a relentless logic, which crushes freedom. The royalty of Christ is not to be a despotism. If Christ had become monarch in Jerusalem by the force of miracles, and had assumed the office of legislator of the Temple, His legislation had become obsolete as soon as His presence was removed, and the pressure of the supernatural withdrawn. In this temptation Christ refuses to be an intellectual tyrant, disbelieves in tyrannies, will not hurry conviction, will not apply force. The truth makes us free. Christ reigns by love.

This temptation finds us everywhere; it appeals to tendencies in our nature and tendencies in systems, which ever tend into morbidness and inflict serious structural and functional injuries to the moral constitution.

Literature tends to become sensational; politics panders to the applause of the day. The religious worker seeks brilliant effects, and if he comes to believe in them he is entangled in dangerous spells. They who are the subjects of work, men who are seeking religion, will mistake these excitements for true feelings. Ritualism touches the harp-

¹ John ix. 30-34.

strings of the beautiful in us, and a tune of art played on our faculties is taken for religion. In our day, one end of the earth looks upon the other. The cablegram flashes fame over oceans; the telegram over continents. Newspaper paragraphs like the personal element, and our names get there and please us, and are seen by everybody. Very exciting is oratory in the pulpit; very brilliant are learning and literature; very titillating the songs of the revivalist; very witching the art of the ritualist. Catching the performers in scenic plaudits, administering stimulants to audiences; and there is a deal of religion which has an alcoholic tyranny over us; a religion of the nerves which produces enervations, and demands stronger stimulants. These stimulants are among the indispensables of religion, as Christ found the advertisement of miracles necessary; but just as He saw the dangers in His miraculous power, we are to be alive to the insidious perils which lie hidden among the superlative adverbs and adjectives by which Christian work and workers are described, among the pleasing methods by which we try to rouse the religious faculty. Paul is a prodigy of imitation in the way he reflects the mind of Christ, in whom the contents of Christ's mind were assimilated and reproduced with a startling accuracy. He speaks of excitement in this strain: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing." The thing remarkable in this strain is the clear distinction he draws between the temporary and the permanent, the shewy and the substantial, the sea of love and the curling wave and coloured foam and brilliant phosphorescences on the surface.

Silence and obscurity are Christian forces, and they are

not trusted, and will be less in the coming age of electricity. Because good men do not see the missionary work of the Church in foreign lands making a stir of signs, they talk of it as a failure, they get impatient, they find fault with methods. The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. It does not show itself by a parade of angels or a display of revolutions. When men say, "Lo, here, and Lo, there," look out for everything but the kingdom. The kingdom of God is within you. The unhistoric obscurity has chapters of greater consequence than those which historians delight to discourse about. The silent spaces are richer in the eternities. It is sure to startle us out of our proprieties, and it may even do us good, if one came from the dead and told us the secrets of the spiritual world ; but it is better for us to have Moses and the prophets, and the silence of their utterances in our inner self and unpretending bookshelves, the leaven of the kingdom silently working in all lands, and even the Christ hidden in humanity—the *λόγος σπερματικός* of Origen—to lie unexpressed there till the day of His showing.

3. A temptation consists of assertions and counter-assertions. Christ in this temptation asserts His idea of the universality of the society He is founding. Jerusalem is refused as a metropolis, because it is a provincial town or parochial village in the imperialism of His idea. He is the spirit of all kinghood ; the ideal of all priesthood ; an unlocal power, the genius of all history. Christianity has its empire over all nations. Is not this conception still unrealized in the thinking of Christendom, and even discredited by it. Our ideas of doctrine, administration, life are provincial. We are even smaller than provincial ; we are parochial.

We are located by our native affinities in one or other of the various systems of truth, forms of government, and modes of life which have grown out of the prolific Christian stock. And what do we do ? We unchurch differences, or

at best tolerate or pity them, and we succumb to the local and parochial idea. Not toleration, but appreciation of these differences ; not till we regard these variations as the beautiful fragments of a great whole, do we get above the temptation which Christ conquered. Every typical system of doctrine, government, and life belongs to the empire of Christ's idea. Variation is the law of vitality. Unity is not uniformity ; unity is an unseen ideality. An empire is a federation of provinces ; a federation of doctrine, government, life makes the Christian empire. Truth is infinite ; life is infinite. We yield to the parochial temper when we think that if one Church constitution is true, another is, or must be, false ; that if one type of life has a reason for its existence, every other stands in a perversity of reason. We get countrified by this temptation, when a system or type thinks that every other must be banished or reduced to one pattern before we are right. The temptation to provincialize the kingdom of Christ is ever present ; it is the same in Jerusalem, in England, in Scotland, in Rome ; to claim monopoly is always pleasing, and it is this false claim which makes the darkest pages of Christian history, this provincial idea which has deluged lands with the blood of persecutions. Christ is the Son of Man, universally human : not provincially Hebrew, Greek, or Latin ; not Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or Wesleyan. No one theology, Church government, or Church life has the custody of Christ. Jerusalem is repudiated, among other reasons, for this reason, to teach us this catholic and œcumenical universality. Christ conquers the spirit of every age in its manifold forms, when He conquers this temptation. He bewilders the provincial orthodoxy, and horrifies the conventional society of Jerusalem and of all time—of London, Edinburgh, Rome. He shows the opulences of His kingdom, shows the many provinces and parishes and metropolises which belong to it.

4. The victory of this temptation is the victory of the Cross. Christ sees that the extraction of Hebrew acquisitions from the fatal embraces of new moons, sabbaths, and circumcision can be made only by His death, that the idealities of righteousness and holiness won by Hebraism will find their new vestures by the crucifixion : a singular prevision. Surely the two great factors of history are Anticipation of the higher, and Absorption of the lower into the higher. Is not the victory of a human life measured by these two factors, which gives a recurrent new birth of character ?

The victory of the Cross is the victory of submission to a superior will, of patience, of getting included into the large scheme of things. Evil is good got in a hurry, and it is only the mimicry of good ; wrong is happiness for the hour or the day, with blank and husky years before us. Eternity is the element with which creatures of our make have to reckon ; we must get our hand on centuries. The sting of evil lies in our neglect or defiance of the future, often in our inability or indisposition to rise into the higher latitudes and far off ages. The Cross of Jesus has shown us the crucifixion which lies deep in the heart of the universe, in the course of human history, in the sublime structure of human nature, that the law of the Cross is the law of futurity. We got our feet planted firmly on the ages by accepting the law which requires the service of present suppression. Take away the friction of our will with a superior will, and you have drawn the sting out of temptation. Take away the impatience with the plan that limits us, and temptations have no mark to hit. Look at the Cross, and a serious purpose is obtained, and far looks. The victory over our assertive egoism is obtained by the patience of eternity. The acquisitions of time and inheritance are conserved by the sacrifice of the present to the future and the comfortable to the dutiful. Then Necessity, which pressed so heavily

on the Greek mind, becomes free will. Temptation is an opportunity to bring into clear shining what of eternity is in a man. In the ample folds of the words, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God," lie hidden the past ages in their seeds, and the future in their buds.

W. W. PEYTON.

RECOLLECTIONS OF DR. DÖLLINGER.

V. BIOGRAPHICAL.

It will probably be a long time before a life of Dr. Döllinger is written. Unless some competent person has already been at work for some years, which is hardly likely, we shall have to wait until the large amount of material which exists can be collected and placed in its proper relations. Meanwhile those who have material for such a work will do well to make it known. In the present paper I propose to put together a few facts which happen to be known to myself, all of which are of interest, and a few of which may be of permanent value.¹

Dr. Döllinger was born at Bamberg, Feb. 28th, 1799, but his boyhood was spent at Würzburg. When the University of Bamberg came to an end in 1803, his father, who had been Professor of Medicine there, was translated to Würzburg, where he remained for twenty years, and then moved to Munich, which was not yet the seat of a university, but became so in 1826. In 1841 the father died at the age of seventy-one. The father was a celebrity in his day, famous as a teacher of anatomy. Teaching his little son the rudiments of learning was a different matter. When the boy was five years old he began Latin, and two years later Greek, which the father himself learnt, in order to teach his son, because at that time there was no one in Würzburg able to teach Greek. Of course the boy made mistakes in his exercises, and these tried his father's temper. After a series of perhaps specially faulty exercises had been produced, the father threatened him that unless the next one was done without a mistake, he would abandon the attempt to make a scholar of him and give him the choice of a *trade*. The boy never doubted, either

¹ The very full article by Lord Acton in the *Historical Review* for October, 1890, ought to be studied.

that there would be mistakes, or that his father would keep his word. He lay awake choosing his trade, and decided on that of a bookbinder. But the next exercise was free from mistakes, and the bookbinders lost an interesting apprentice. When he was seventeen he went to the *gymnasium* at Würzburg, where Richarz, afterwards Bishop of Augsburg, was one of his teachers, and later on to the university.

It was probably before he went to either that he made his first and last attempt at smoking. I once remarked that as a German professor who did not smoke he was exceptional, and asked him whether he had ever done so. "No," he replied; "with one exception, never. Once I did make the attempt; but it made me so miserably ill, and my father, when he discovered it, boxed my ears so soundly for it, that I never repeated the experiment."

He was fond of entomology then, and it is said that he acquired a great knowledge of the subject. But in later life he seemed to have lost all interest in the study. I have no recollection of the insects which we saw during our walks ever leading him to converse on the subject, or of his ever drawing an illustration from insect life. His illustrations were generally historical.

He had no interest for sport. During a drive at Tegernsee, in 1878, I had been asking some questions about game in the neighbourhood. He told me what he could, and then added: "But I do not know much about the subject. I never fired a gun in my life."

It was during the early Würzburg days that he laid the foundations of that extraordinary command of modern languages which so distinguished him in after life. As already stated,¹ he learnt the elements of English from one of the last remaining Benedictines in the old Scotch monastery at Würzburg; and among the first English books which he studied were the *Vicar of Wakefield* and

¹ See THE EXPOSITOR for August.

the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The way in which he learnt French (and probably Italian) is still more interesting.

In August, 1876, my wife and I had been dining with him, and after dinner he took us into his library, which he wished her to see, saying in his playful way: "Not *quite* all my books are uninteresting. Only an unmarried man could have so many books.¹ A husband would not be allowed to have so many. You see, I am obliged to make use of all available space. That was once a wood closet." Among the books which he showed and commended to us was Lanfrey's *Life of Napoleon I.*; and he went on to tell us of his seeing Napoleon at Würzburg.

"I admired him then perhaps as much as I detest him now. But my mother did not admire him at all; for, during a whole year we had three or four soldiers billeted upon us, and she had to lodge and feed them. I liked it well enough, for I was glad of an opportunity of practising my little knowledge of French with the soldiers, who were always affable enough, and pleased to be understood by me. Moreover I was scarcely a German then; for in Würzburg we hardly knew what we were. Napoleon had given us a Tuscan duke, who went back to Tuscany again when Napoleon fell. There was not much German sentiment in us then. So as a lad I naturally enough admired Napoleon for his success, and did not care much about anything else. I remember very well hearing that there was to be a review, and that Napoleon was to be there. We lads ran off to get as near to him as we could; and I got very near—almost as near as I am to you; and we tried to keep up with him as he went along the line. Of course there was

¹ About 30,000 volumes. Many of his shelves had two rows of books, one behind another; and he knew what books were in the back rows, although most of them had been out of sight for years. In his last illness he wanted a book from one of these back rows, and was able to tell exactly where it would be found.

great enthusiasm ; every one was full of admiration for him. But in his face there was not the slightest response ; no emotion whatever ; no sympathy with those around him. It was a face of stone, like the statue in *Don Giovanni* ; there was nothing human in it. I have never seen anything like it before or since—never. The turning point of opinion about him in Bavaria was the Russian campaign. When 30,000 Bavarians were left dead in the retreat from Moscow, that opened people's eyes.¹ I cannot feel any admiration for him now. I dislike him, if for nothing else, for his heartless conduct to women ; and, besides that, his whole policy was utterly selfish. His soldiers were devoted to him, because he gave them plenty of *gloire* and pillage : a Frenchman is always intoxicated with *gloire*. The Italians, who are not, were not devoted to him ; they disliked the whole war, and would gladly have gone back to Italy. We had Italian soldiers quartered upon us as well as French."

He could remember Scribe's plays being the rage when he was a boy—probably a little later than the incident with Napoleon. "Scribe has given rise to a word which bids fair to be universal in its use. 'Chauvinism' is thoroughly admitted into German. Chauvin is a fire-eater in one of Scribe's plays, who is always wishing for war, in order to gain territory and *gloire* for France."

Not all of Dr. Döllinger's school life was spent at Würzburg. During the latter portion of it he was at Munich. In 1878 he told me that, when he first came to Munich as a lad, a certain Herr Lange and his sons were painters there. Lange had a good deal to do with the arrangement of the Pinakothek. A visitor once asked him whom he

¹ One day, as we passed the bronze obelisk which Ludwig I. erected to the memory of these 30,000, with the inscription, "They too died to set their country free," Dr. Döllinger remarked, "That is a monument put up to the shame of Germany!" But his special aversion in history was, not Napoleon, but Philip II. He would not allow that even our king John was as detestable.

considered to be the first among living artists in Europe. "My son," said Lange, "is the *second*; modesty forbids my naming the *first*." I said that a similar remark is attributed to an Oxford scholar, who said that Oxford possessed three theologians: Pusey, Mozley, and one whom modesty did not allow him to mention. "He was modesty itself compared with Lange," said Dr. Döllinger: "he only put himself third in Oxford; Lange put himself first in Europe. I can tell you another of Lange's feats. He was commissioned to paint an altarpiece for the Studien-kirche in Munich—the one on the Promenade Platz. The subject was to be 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me.' Lange had a daughter of about seventeen, who was very coquettish indeed. What did he do but paint this girl, with her coquettish face and manner, as the principal figure among the children brought to Christ! The altar-piece was put up and was the talk of Munich. Every young man and most of the boys who went to the church knew perfectly well whose portrait it was over the altar. I saw it there myself. I was a boy in the upper classes, just going to the university. But it did not remain there long. It caused such a scandal, that after a short time it was removed."

In 1880 he said to me: "We Germans have a saying—I do not know whether you have the same in England—that what one wishes for much in youth one has in old age in abundance. Goethe has put it as the motto in his autobiography.¹ There are two things which I used to wish for very much as a young man, and I used to look forward to the day when I should possess them—a country living and a garden. And I have got neither of them, and am never likely to get them; so that the saying does not hold good in my case. I had them in a sort of way for a very short

¹ "*Was man in der Jugend wünscht, hat man im Alter die Fülle*" is the motto to the second part of the autobiography.

time. For just one year (1822, 1823) I was coadjutor—what you would call a curate—to a very old priest. And then I was appointed professor at Aschaffenburg; and so it all came to an end. One thing more I used to wish for very much, and that I *have* got; *viz.* a library.”

In 1877 he told me of an amusing experience which he had in this curacy (at Markt-Scheinfeld). A Protestant had died, and a pastor came to bury him. A Protestant funeral being a rare event in the village, the Catholics gathered in numbers to witness the ceremony. The pastor and his congregation were in the churchyard round the grave, while the Catholics crowded round outside the wall, which chanced to be a low one. At Protestant funerals it is usual to sing a hymn, which is given out by the sacristan. The Catholics knew something of the Protestant hymn-book, and knew that there was a hymn beginning with the words, “Ach, Gott, wie is der Mensch so dumm!” Accordingly, before the sacristan could give out the proper hymn, one of the Catholics from the wall gave out this one, to the considerable amusement of the bystanders.”

He had known an instance of the *stigmata*. We were talking in 1872 of the *stigmata* of S. Francis.

“It is a thing about which there is a good deal of doubt as to the fact, and also (if it was a fact) as to the cause. Instances of the stigmatization of women are common enough; but that of S. Francis is the only case of the stigmatization of a man. It is recorded of many female saints, and is *known* to have taken place in some cases. I saw one instance of it myself in the Tyrol. The woman had a reputation for great sanctity, and pilgrimages were made to see her. She may be living yet. I was living close by, and saw her several times and observed her. She was constantly in a state of ecstasy, quite unconscious. I remarked that flies walked about over her eyeballs, without her taking any notice. She was an invalid, and confined

to her bed. But every Thursday evening and Friday she gave herself up to the contemplation of the passion, kneeling up in bed in quite an ecstatic condition. When she returned to consciousness, she did not speak, but made signs of recognition. The stigmata were rosy-coloured spots on her hands, and she was believed to have the same on her feet. The latter of course I did not see. How they were produced I do not pretend to say. It is not yet sufficiently known how far such things may be the result of natural causes, such as a violently excited imagination. On the other hand, some women have such an intense passion for being considered peculiarly saintly or endued with special spiritual gifts, that they will do the most extraordinary things to obtain such a reputation. Some of these cases of stigmata may be mere trickery. The stigmata caused disputes between the Franciscans and Dominicans. The Franciscans wanted to have a monopoly of the stigmata, while the Dominicans claimed the honour for S. Catherine of Siena."

Clement Brentano, author of a *Life of the Virgin, according to the Visions of Anna Katharina von Emmerich*, lived for some years at Munich, and Dr. Döllinger used to see him rather frequently and walk with him. Brentano told him a great deal about this celebrated Westphalian nun, whom he used to visit. Apparently without being aware of the fact, Brentano used to supply her with materials for her visions; *i.e.* he told her things of which she had never heard before, and these came back to him again in the form of visions and revelations, which he took down from her lips and afterwards published. These were chiefly minute details about the passion and about the Virgin Mary, such as are to be found nowhere excepting in legends. I asked Dr. Döllinger whether he thought that in such cases the woman was generally honest.

"Only half, only half. The temptation to be 'inter-

esting' is to most women almost irresistible. They will practise deception involving the most painful privations and sufferings in order to be thought specially gifted. Another famous case was that of a Spanish nun, Maria d'Agreda (1602-1675), authoress of *The Mystic City of God*. It created an immense amount of controversy. Bossuet and other French prelates wished Rome to condemn it. The whole Franciscan order defended it, for the nun was a Franciscan. Meanwhile the book was translated into several languages and circulated everywhere. It makes the blessed Virgin a kind of second Saviour, and has been one of the main causes of the modern extravagant cultus of the Virgin.¹ An attempt was made to get the nun canonized, but the Pope refused. Brentano told his nun all about the Spanish nun, of whom she had not previously heard. A few days after this she had had a vision. She had seen a church with an open door, and a nun in the Franciscan habit on the door-step. Two monks were trying to push her into the church. All of no avail: the Franciscan nun was too stout, and could not be made to pass through the door-way! This was Maria Katharina's reproduction of what Brentano had told her, with the implication that Maria d'Agreda ought not to be canonized, and that the *Mystica Ciudad de Dios* was all nonsense. This was Brentano's own opinion of the book, as he told me; but he never seemed to see the similarity between his own nun and the Franciscan nun."

It is not generally known that some of the Liberal French bishops, Dupanloup, Maret, and others, were among the first to suggest to the Pope the idea of a General Council, which they thought might check ultramontanism and effect

¹ It has a chapter on what Mary was doing before she was born, and gives a long prayer which she offered in her mother's womb (i. 20)! Mary ascends with Christ (vi. 29), and then returns to earth to become the "patroness and mistress of the Church" (vii. 1); as such she instructs the apostles, sends S. James to Spain, etc., etc.

some reforms. Most of the Curia were quite opposed to the proposal; but the Pope, who saw in it an opportunity for much ceremony and parade, was very pleased with the idea. Thereupon the Jesuits and Manning stepped in, and turned the Council into an engine for the *promotion* of ultramontaniam. Maret himself came to consult Dr. Döllinger on the subject, and the latter told the Bishop of Sura that he thought the project of agitating for a General Council one of very dubious expediency.

January 4th, 1871, the Archbishop of Munich wrote to Dr. Döllinger a long letter, conjuring him to cease from helping to disturb the unity of the Church, and threatening him with penalties if continued provocation should be given. In his reply of the 29th Döllinger said that if he were able to refute, or see refuted, the objections which he himself had publicly urged against the dogma, he would submit and with sorrow confess his errors. If he submitted *without* this refutation, no one would believe in the sincerity of his submission; he would be convicted of cowardice and hypocrisy. February 14th, Archbishop Scherr told him curtly that he must declare his position towards the Vatican decrees by March 15th—the Ides of March;¹ which was another coincidence, like the definition of the dogma on the *dies Alliensis*. March 14th, Döllinger asked for another fortnight, which the archbishop granted, intimating however that no further delay would be allowed. This request of Dr. Döllinger for extension of time was variously interpreted at the moment. Some said that he was going to yield; others that there were certain services in the Royal Chapel in which the *Stiftspropst* would have to take a prominent part, and that it would be equally awkward, whether

¹ It was on March 15th, 1890, that the minister Von Lutz allowed it to be stated in the Bavarian diet that the government could no longer regard the Old Catholics as members of the Catholic Church. A few weeks later he resigned, and a few months later died.

he was absent because of being excommunicated, or present in spite of this. Delay would enable these services to be held before the excommunication. Here is his own account of the matter. We had been talking in 1872 of some eccentric doings of the Bishop of Passau. "He is a strange man," said Dr. Döllinger. "He was the last of the German bishops to give in his adhesion to the Vatican Council—only at Easter last year. He wrote to the Archbishop of Munich to say that he had been meditating during Holy Week on the passion of our Lord, especially on the bloody sweat; and that he himself had been well nigh in the same condition in considering what was to be done respecting the decrees of the Council. He had a great deal more trouble than I had. It did not take me two minutes to decide what I ought to do: I very soon made up my mind about that."

"Although the archbishop did give you some extra weeks in order to think it over—after March 15th."

"Yes; I had been told to declare myself by that time. But I wrote and told the archbishop, in a letter which I mean to publish some day,¹ that I was not ready with my statement; that I should require some time before I could finish, but that as soon as it was completed he should have it. The fact was, I had not quite made up my mind what points I would bring forward most prominently, and what I would leave out altogether. The archbishop wrote back, and said that I could have two more weeks. I sent him my declaration within the time, telling him that it would be published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* the same day. The services in the Royal Chapel had nothing to do with the delay; it was merely that my declaration was not ready."

After a pause he went on:

"In the fifteenth century it was the German universities which stood up for the liberties of the Church

¹ It has just been published in *Briefe und Erklärungen*, a most interesting collection of documents (Beck: Munich, 1890).

against the Pope, and contended for the principle of the Council of Constance—the superiority of councils to popes. It was that wretched Frederick III., the worst emperor in the whole succession of emperors, who made a bargain with the Pope, and (for a large sum of money and absolution from all his sins) sold to Eugenius IV. the liberties of the German Church. He forced the universities to give way. Vienna held out longest; it still held to the Council of Basel. But at last it gave way also; the faculty of theology last of all. *Janus* exposes that transaction between Frederick III. and the Pope (§ xxvi., p. 352); it was not so well known before that. People have remarked a likeness between *Janus* and *Quirinus*; but whether they are brothers, or cousins, or what, is still discussed. It was a *bishop* who supplied most of the material for *Quirinus' Letters from Rome*. *Ce qui se Passe au Concile* was written by a Parisian, Jules Galliard; but he had good materials to work from."

People are apt to think that excommunication is an obsolete and ridiculous weapon, incapable of injuring the object of it. That certainly was not Dr. Döllinger's view of his own sentence. He fully believed that it was iniquitous and therefore invalid, and that it left him spiritually unharmed; but he was profoundly sensible of other effects. A Roman Catholic friend, who to a large extent shared his views, said to him, "Well, at any rate, they cannot burn us at the stake."

"No," said Döllinger sternly; "they cannot burn us at the stake. But they can inflict an amount of moral torture, to which the stake would perhaps be preferable."

To another he said, "I am the fascine, which is flung into the ditch, to help the others to cross."

And even the stake was not so far off. The penalty which was inflicted on him was "the greater excommunication, with all the canonical consequences which are attached to

it." Among these "canonical consequences" is this, that any zealot may slay the excommunicated person. It is laid down that any one who out of genuine zeal kills such an one *nullam meretur pœnitentiam*. And the Munich police formally warned Dr. Döllinger that violence was contemplated, and that he ought to be cautious and not go out unattended. This will to some seem incredible; but he himself states it both in his letter to Archbishop Steichele and in that to the nuncio, Ruffo Scilla (*Briefe und Erklärungen*, pp. 140, 153).

Few things were more touching, even in his pathetic life, than the way in which he would excuse (defend he could not) those bishops who, before and during the Council, made use of him to oppose the dogma, and afterwards condemned him for not accepting it. He would point out the terrific oath of subservience to Rome which every bishop in her communion has to take at his consecration; the habit, which for generations has been a second nature with them, of exhibiting this subservience on all occasions; and the huge difficulties which bishops who refused to submit would have had to confront. "There would have been a schism in every diocese. Every bishop would have had a large number of his clergy, and of the laity also, up in arms against him. Those opposed to him would of course have Rome on their side: and among those opposed to him would be *all* the religious orders and *all* the old women; and those are two hosts in themselves. The state of things would have been intolerable; it would have been impossible to go on."

"And now," I ventured to reply, "instead of a schism in every diocese, you have a schism in every individual conscience. I am not sure that that is not worse."

He gave no answer. After a pause he said: "Had I been a bishop in the circumstances, what I should have done would have been this. As soon as I returned from

Rome, I should have called a diocesan council, as many of the clergy as I could get, and a certain number of the laity; and I would have said to them: 'I cannot accept this new doctrine; it is not the doctrine of the Church. If you cannot accept it either, good: we will stand by one another. You must support me, and I will support you.' But if a large majority had said, 'We submit; we accept the dogma,' then I should have resigned my bishopric. This is what our bishops might have done; but they were not men of character enough for that."

"What would have been the result here in Munich? Would the archbishop have been supported by his clergy?"

"Yes, he would."

Like some other great scholars he worked as if he were to live for ever, keeping many things on hand, planning many others, and finishing very few. I sometimes ventured to urge him to complete and publish something, or I counted up the number of subjects on which I knew him to be at work; and there were of course others. At one time he would reply, "Yes, it is too much, too much," or, "The fact is I have too many irons in the fire"; at another, "There is one happy thing however, that I am still strong and in good health, able to work all day and take pleasure in it."

His walking powers to the last were extraordinary. When I suggested that he had done too much, he said, "Oh! a walk never tires me." In 1886, when he was eighty-seven, he walked with me one evening for three hours and a quarter, without once sitting down. Last year, when he was ninety, he walked with me for nearly an hour in unfavourable weather.

And his abstemiousness was extraordinary. For many years he took only a meal and a half a day, a light breakfast and an early dinner, after which he ate nothing till the next morning. "Of course when I was your age I used to

take supper ; but now I do not require it. Your late dinners do not suit me at all." Of late years he drank no wine, excepting when his doctor ordered it. Beer he never would touch ; he thought that it made people heavy, and less fit for intellectual work. He had been told that the Bavarian beer had also bad physical effects, and that the frequent incontinence of the Bavarian clergy was in a measure owing to their free consumption of beer. "But, as I never drink it myself, I do not know whether there is any truth in this."

His great fondness for children has been noticed. He was not fond of dogs or of animal pets. On one occasion we passed a frightful poodle, to which I said, "You ugly dog!" Dr. Döllinger asked me whether I had ever kept a dog ; and when I replied in the negative, he said : "Nor have I. I have always been able to live without animals about me. One child is much more interesting to me than the whole animal world put together."

On another occasion he remarked that a dog is the only animal that makes a noise for the mere sake of making it, —a *very* characteristic reason for dislike. "No animal is so shamelessly obscene. Having dogs for pets is a modern and western invention. Neither the old Greeks nor the old Romans made pets or companions of them, nor do orientals at the present day." He was quite otherwise with respect to children. The year after my eldest child was born, his first inquiries, after greetings had been exchanged, were about him. "The older I grow the more interest I take in children."

"We say in England that they are young bears, with all their troubles before them."

"Yes, and their *choice* before them also. And the object of education is just that—to make the choice and the happiness superior to the troubles."

Dr. Döllinger had never seen the notorious Lola Montez. It was strange that I, who had never been in Munich before

1869, eight years after the famous ballet girl had died in comparative poverty at New York, should have seen her and heard her lecture, while Dr. Döllinger, who had suffered severely through her intrigues, should never have set eyes on her. Of course he knew a great deal about her. She was the natural daughter of a Scotch officer and a Creole, who, after adventures in India, England, Paris, and Brussels, went to Munich in 1846 as a Spanish dancer, and there captivated Ludwig I. Dr. Döllinger said that the king was quite fascinated, but that he believed there was nothing positively wrong in his relations to the actress. She tried to gain over some of the students' clubs to her coterie, but quite without success. She took captive however many individual students, and made them into a club of her own, which she called the Alemannia. No inn or hotel in the city would allow her to make its premises the headquarters of this club, so she had an elegant *Kneipzimmer* fitted up at the back of the charming house which the king had given her. Here she would meet her worshippers. The club colours were red, blue, and gold, and it sometimes came into collision with other clubs. She caused the overthrow of the ultramontane ministry of Abel, which opposed the king's proposal to ennoble her. Under Wallerstein's ministry this was accomplished, and she was created Gräfin Landsfeld. Her insolence and that of her club brought things to a crisis in 1848. She had to leave Munich, and never returned. Owing to her intrigues Dr. Döllinger lost his professorship for a time (1847-1849), and thereby his seat in the chamber. It was during this interval that he was a member of the Parliament of Frankfurt in 1848, of which there is now only one member surviving, Dr. Sepp. When Ludwig I. resigned, King Maximilian II. restored Dr. Döllinger to his professorship.

During the last fifteen years of his life two things grieved him sorely: the *non possumus* attitude adopted by Dr.

Pusey on the *Filioque* question, and the abolition of clerical celibacy by the Old Catholics. The one he attributed to casuistical tendencies and a constitutional dread of possible consequences ; the other he regarded as fatal.

"You in England cannot understand how completely engrained it is into our people that a priest is a man who sacrifices himself for the sake of his parishioners. He has no children of his own, in order that all the children in the parish may be his children. His people know that his small wants are supplied, and that he can devote all his time and thought to them. They know also that it is quite otherwise with the married pastors of Protestants. The pastor's income may be enough for himself, but it is not enough for his wife and children also. In order to maintain them he must take other work, literary or scholastic ; only a portion of his time can be given to his people ; and they know that when the interests of his family and those of his flock collide, his family comes first and his flock second. In short, he has a profession or trade, a *Gewerbe*, rather than a vocation ; he has to earn a livelihood. In almost all Catholic congregations a priest who married would be ruined ; all his influence would be gone. The people are not at all ready for so fundamental a change, and the circumstances of the clergy do not admit of it. It is a fatal resolution."

But he was not at all bitter about this or about other things which much more nearly affected himself. In his later years, while his convictions deepened, he became more and more tolerant of the convictions of others and more gentle towards them. He did not shrink from owning that there had been a time when he had spoken and written with harshness about opinions which were much nearer the truth than he had then believed. He had found out many mistakes in his own views ; and this fact, together with his natural goodness of heart, made him increasingly

tender towards others. His own difficulties and trials did not harden him : they made him all the more sympathetic and generous.

During the last nine or ten years of his life one of his nieces devoted herself to taking care of him, and during the last six years a second niece joined her sister in this willing and constant devotion. A translation of a letter from Dr. Friedrich has been published, in which he is made to imply that there had been a time in which the nieces had not been on good terms with their uncle, and had not done their duty towards him. What Professor Friedrich actually wrote I do not know ; but I have good means of knowing that the translator must have given a meaning to the original which it neither expressed nor implied.

A few words about his ecclesiastical position since April 23rd, 1871. He was an unjustly excommunicated Roman Catholic. He shared the convictions of the Old Catholics, was on terms of closest friendship with their leaders, and was always ready to give them advice and other assistance ; but *he was not a member of the Old Catholic communion*. The evidence for this is overwhelming.

1. Excepting at the Reunion Conference at Bonn, *he never attended an Old Catholic service*. At Bonn the service was exceptional. It was an earnest of the reunion for which those who went thither were working. If attendance at that service proved Döllinger to be a member of the Old Catholic body, then various members of the English, American, and Lutheran Churches are proved to be so also by precisely the same fact. At Munich he never entered the Old Catholic church, although his relations attended the services. To explain this by saying that he was an old man, and that he lived some distance from the church, is strangely to impugn his religious earnestness. He could walk for two or three hours without resting, and he was

well enough off to afford a carriage whenever he needed one. His reason for absenting himself from Old Catholic services had nothing to do with the distance between his house and the building in which they were held.

2. One of his nearest relations said to me last July that his funeral was very characteristic; it was attended by Old Catholics, Anglicans, Greeks, Lutherans and other Protestants;—in short, by representatives of almost every Church, *excepting his own*.

3. Since his death his letter to the papal nuncio has been published, in which he states expressly: "*I do not choose to be a member of a schismatical society; I am isolated.*"

Je suis isolé. After his death, when his features had settled into their natural repose, his friends were struck by their resemblance to those of his favourite author, Dante. But he and Dante resembled one another in many other things besides face. They were alike in the greatness of their spirits, in the profundity of their convictions, in their dismay at the ruin of Christendom through the substitution of the papacy for the Church, in their endeavours to repair this ruin, and in their consequent sufferings. Each had this heavy price to pay for his greatness—he was alone.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

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